

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE WRITINGS  
OF  
LUDWIG ANZENGRUBER.

Thesis presented by

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY.



## CHAPTER ONE.

### ANZENGRUBER AND RELIGION

- ⌘ I The Church and the Priest.
- II The Psychology of the Believer.
- III Anzengruber's Heretics.
- IV The Stonebreaker's Secret.
- V Life without God.

<sup>36</sup> I have taken these headings from Koessler's dissertation, Louis Anzengruber, Toulouse 1943.

In discussing Anzengruber's views on religion one would begin chronologically with his first successful play, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld. The background of the play was topical. It dramatized questions which nearly everyone who had experienced the effects of the Concordat of 1855 in Austria had at some time discussed or pondered.

The great concern of the Church and of the State was whether the Concordat was to be maintained or abolished. Hugo Hantsch writes:

'Die Aufhebung des Placetum regium und jeder Beschränkung des Verkehrs zwischen Klerus und Heiligem Stuhl, die Überantwortung der Rechtsprechung in Ehesachen an das kirchliche Gericht, eine gewisse Einschränkung der weltlichen Gerichtsbarkeit über den Klerus und das Zugeständnis eines massgebenden Einflusses auf das Schulwesen der mittleren und unteren Stufe, das waren die Hauptpunkte der staatlichen Konzessionen, die der religiösen Betätigung der Kirche ohne Zweifel ein weites Feld eröffneten.'<sup>1</sup>

'By the Concordat of 1855 the Roman Church was given a freedom from state interference and a control over popular education which it had not enjoyed since the great days of the Counter Reformation. Like the revived monarchy, the revived church was artificial, a deliberate attempt to defeat the modern spirit with the weapons of the seventeenth century; the alliance of crown, church, and army, once natural, was now an abstract conception, as intellectualist as the liberalism which it opposed.'<sup>2</sup>

That is how A.J.P. Taylor describes the Austrian concordat.

After ten years, however, the political atmosphere had changed. Ideas which had emerged during the revolution of 1848

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<sup>1</sup> Die Geschichte Österreichs. Graz-Wien. Vol.2, p.365.

<sup>2</sup> The Habsburg Monarchy. London 1941. p.95.

returned, and Liberalism was gaining ground. In fact Austria found that she was unable to carry out the terms of the Concordat. After the war of 1866 statesmen had more time to spend on domestic affairs and in December 1867 a law was passed stating that the Church was 'wie jede Gesellschaft den allgemeinen Staatsgesetzen unterworfen.' In May 1868 three more laws were passed which undermined the Concordat. 'If the Liberals,' writes A.J. May, had followed their private inclinations they would have torn up the Concordat by the roots, but out of deference to the wishes of Francis Joseph they whittled away clerical prerogatives.<sup>1</sup> The three laws dealt with marriage, schools and 'interkonfessionelle Verhältnisse.' Cardinal Rauscher who earned the name of a Metternich of the Church tried to turn the landed aristocrats against the marriage bill and other measures. (Count Finsterberg, one of the characters in Anzengruber's Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, is to be regarded as typifying those with whom Cardinal Rauscher succeeded in this policy.) 'Count Auersperg, on the other hand, a militant champion of liberalism, implored the chamber to strike "the badge of ecclesiastical slavery from Austria", and invoked stirring memories of Joseph II and his ecclesiastical innovations.'<sup>2</sup> Such extreme anti-clericalism as this was, however, according to Hantsch not representative of the dominant tendencies in contemporary Austrian liberalism: 'Es wäre ungerecht zu behaupten, der herrschende Liberalismus hätte im allgemeinen, die religiösen Werte

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<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914 by Arthur J. May. Harvard University Press, 1951, p.47.

geradezu verachtet und verneint, aber er besass die Tendenz, sie aus dem öffentlich Leben in die Sphäre des privaten zu drängen.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope, when he saw that anti-religious elements in liberalism were prevailing against the Concordat and indeed threatening religion itself, became increasingly intransigent and tried to wall off his province by denouncing the new constitutional laws of 1868 and proclaiming new dogmas. The Concordat received the death blow when the Pope proclaimed the doctrine of infallibility. Döllinger who opposed this doctrine and any ultramontane policy of the Church and yet still wished to remain a Catholic said of this doctrine: 'It is a real misfortune that Herr von Beust, a Protestant ... should fail to recognise the entirely political character of the infallibility dogma and cling to the idea that the doctrine is to be regarded purely as a matter of faith.'<sup>2</sup> A considerable number of Catholics at the time found that they could not support the Pope's policy and established themselves as a separate body, calling themselves "Old Catholics". (Anzengruber refers to them in his comedy, Die Kreuzelschreiber).

Pope Pius IX led the Church into combat against its powerful anticlerical, liberalistic and later socialist assailants. Men like Cardinal Rauscher in Vienna and Schwarzenberg in Salzburg were extremely powerful and they dealt severely with liberalistic tendencies in the Church, as we may see, for example, from the way in which Rauscher treated Anton Günther who demanded a free Church

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<sup>1</sup> Die Geschichte Österreichs by Hugo Hantsch. Graz-Wien, vol.2, p.400.

<sup>2</sup> Conversations of Dr. Döllinger, recorded by Louise von Kobell and translated by Katharine Gould. London, 1892, p.14.

in a free State and free knowledge in the free Church. Anzengruber's Hall, 'Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld', also wishes to interpret religion liberally. He discovers that those above him in the hierarchical Church and State do not approve of what he feels he must do to satisfy his conscience. The princes of the Church join with Finsterberg, the representative of the reactionary feudal nobility, to turn Hell out of his living, because he wants to think for himself and act according to his own conscience, not according to what an infallible Pope may decree.

Pope Leo XIII who succeeded Pope Pius IX in 1878 took wiser measures to combat the Church's enemies. He issued an encyclica which defined the position of the Church with regard to social conditions. From his encyclica Rerum novarum issued in May 1891, a year and a half after Anzengruber died, we can obtain some information about the historical background as it was when Anzengruber was writing:

'The elements of the conflicts now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; in the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The momentous gravity of the state of things fills every mind with painful apprehension.'<sup>1</sup>

The Pope goes on to say that the conflict cannot be settled without the Church.

'The Church uses her efforts not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by her precepts the life and conduct of each

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<sup>1</sup> The Workers' Charter. The encyclical Rerum Novarum of Leo XIII. Catholic Truth Society pamphlet. London, 1953, p.3.

and all; the Church improves and betters the conditions of the working man by means of numerous organisations ... /but/ considers that ... recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the intervention of the law and of state authority.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note how often the Pope attacks the socialists, defines the duties of the state, of institutions and laws, of employers and workers. What he says would have answered Anzengruber when he criticises Christians for not living up to their ideals by failing to relieve the suffering of the poor. The encyclica would have proved that the Church was actively working to improve the social conditions in which the masses lived, and thus another anticlerical weapon which Anzengruber and others used would have been blunted. The Pope calls on every Christian to win over those who do not believe or those who are prejudiced, by showing that they are 'industrious, hard-working, assiduous, and peaceful, ruled by justice, and, above all, bound together in brotherly love.' He appeals to those who rule the state to introduce fair laws and establish new institutions, to masters and wealthy owners to treat workers fairly and in accordance with Christian principles and to workers to work hard and be patient, to wait until they are helped, not to try to help themselves by rebelling.

'In regard to the Church, her co-operation will never be found lacking, be the time or the occasion what it may; and she will intervene with all the greater effect in proportion as her liberty of action is the more unfettered. Let this be carefully taken to heart by those whose office it is to safeguard the public welfare. Every minister of holy religion must bring to the struggle the full energy of his mind and all his power of endurance.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Workers' Charter, p.12.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.42.

Austria was and is a Catholic country. David Kay in his book Austria-Hungary gives us statistics for the entire dual monarchy. We are concerned with the figures he gives for Lower and Upper Austria. In Lower Austria there were approximately 96 Roman Catholics to every 2 Protestants and 2 Jews in the 'seventies. The inhabitants of Upper Austria were nearly all Catholic except for 1,500 Protestants.<sup>1</sup> Those who were eager to criticise Catholicism found in nineteenth century Austria much to quote in evidence against it. Napoléon Roussel in his book Catholic Nations and Protestant Nations alleges that Church and State combine to rule and oppress the people of Austria. 'The first result of this coalition of Church and State to work the nation has necessarily been fatal to the two conspirators. A religion preached without conviction creates unbelievers; administrative agents formed to grind the people profit by the lesson and grind their masters.'<sup>2</sup> Liberalism and later socialism did in fact draw more and more people away from the Church, so that Freiherr von Vogelsang found himself constrained to write:

'Gelingt es den leidenden Massen durch das correcte Verhalten der Bevorzugten die Überzeugung einzuflössen, dass das Christentum auf ihrer Seite streitet und dass es allein imstande ist, ihnen ihr Recht zu verschaffen, dann, aber auch nur dann ist zu hoffen, dass die Religionsfeindschaft aufhören werde, die sociale Bewegung zu vergiften.'<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Joseph Scheicher admitted:

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<sup>1</sup> Austria-Hungary by David Kay. London, 1880, p.59 and p.119.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic Nations and Protestant Nations by Napoléon Roussel. London 1885, p.194.

<sup>3</sup> Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag by Freiherr C.V.Vogelsang, In: Österreichische Monatsschrift VIII. Jg., 1886, p.590.



'Der Klerus hat einen sehr schwierigen Stand.... Er muss jedoch in seinem Begehren massvoll sein, die Volkskreise zuerst vorbereiten und den ungestümen Eifer zügeln, denn Reform nicht Revolution ist das Lösungswort. Da stösst er an, oben und unten. Unten meint man oder sagt es, dass der Klerus mit den oberen Kreisen verbunden sei, oben bezichtigt man ihn gern der Volksaufwieglung.'<sup>1</sup>

People like the Dominican Albert Maria Weiss declared that priests should not belong to any party, because they would cut themselves off from those souls who belonged to other parties.

Both Hell and the old priest Vetter in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld think that priests should not meddle in political matters. Hell says, 'Nun setzt sich in der Kirche fort der Kampf des Tages, das heilige Buch ist von der Kanzel ganz verschwunden, und wie wenn er sie als Verlobte verkündigen wollte, wirft der Prediger den Glauben und die Politik von der Kanzel unters Volk.'<sup>2</sup> Old Vetter wonders whether he should retire. Then he thinks his parishioners 'könnten sehen, wie sie mit einem neuen Pfarrer auskämen, der wohl, wie all jüngeren, auch in weltlichen Gemeindegängen wird mit raten und taten wollen.'<sup>3</sup> In the comedy Die Kreuzknechte Anzengruber protests against the way in which priests use religious influence to punish villagers for a political offence. There were priests who tyrannised over their parish and misused their power to serve political causes, just as, or perhaps because, there were powerful patrons like Finsterberg and Der Propst von Elfkirchen in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld. Patrons could remove their protégés like pawns, if they did not preach the opinions, political or otherwise, which their 'superiors' held.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Klerus und die soziale Frage by Dr. Joseph Scheicher. Innsbruck, 1884, pp.154-6.

<sup>2</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act I, sc.2. Vol.2, p.19.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Act I, sc.6. Vol.2, p.43.



Anzengruber thus draws his audience's attention to the proletariat in the Church, a proletariat composed of the poor, cheated priests who remain in the lowest ranks of the clergy. The sixth scene of the first Act of Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld shows how the system of patronage functions. Hell and Vetter, the old priest from St. Jakob in der Einod, discuss their careers.

Vetter. Sie sitzen auf einer der einträglichsten Pfarren und sind noch so jung, haben noch so viel vor sich - Sie haben wohl auch Protektion gehabt?

Hell. Nun, das wohl. Der Propst von Elfkirchen ist mein Gönner, er kam oft in unser Haus, ich verdanke ihm viel, aber - Gott ist mein Zeuge - ich habe seine Protektion nicht gesucht, irgend wen von seinem Platze zu verdrängen, um mich besser zu situieren.

Vetter. Hm, das ist doch wohl keine Sünde, das geschieht ja täglich an allen Orten und ich mag es Ihnen wohl gönnen! ... Ich bin der zweite Sohn armer Bauersleute und Sie wissen, man hat es gern, dass das kleine Erbe für den ältesten beisammen bleibe, da hat man mich denn zum Priester gemacht. Ich habe, als ich das Seminar verliess, viele hinter mir gelassen, die jetzt gar hohe Kirchenfürsten sind - freilich waren sie meist schon von Haus aus von hoher Familie und manch andere, die sich geschickt in weltlichen Dingen zu mischen wussten, wenn es der Vorteil der Kirche wollte, haben auch ihren Weg gemacht; nun, ich taugte eben nicht zu derlei, so haben sie mich denn von Pfarre zu Pfarre geschoben.<sup>1</sup>

Franz in Der Meineidbauer also mentions the fate of the peasant priest, saying that he would not like to share it.

The question of celibacy often occupied Anzengruber's attention. At the Reformation this had been one of the main issues, and in the eighteenth century and in 1848 there were new requests made to abolish celibacy. One of Anzengruber's favourite themes is the tale, with variations, of the amorous priest. Among the priests in Anzengruber's works the list of those who suffer, because they had vowed

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<sup>1</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act I, sc.6. Vol.2, pp.40-41.

to remain celibate is a long one. He makes it appear that the demand is burdensome, unnatural and inhuman. When the Old Catholics decided to abolish the vow of celibacy, Döllinger wrote warningly: 'When a priest can no longer point to the personal sacrifice which he makes for the good of his people, then it is all over with him and the cause he represents. He sinks to the level of those who make a trade of their work.'<sup>1</sup> More in keeping with Anzengruber's own views is what M. Ernst Renan wrote: 'It is only by tearing himself away from the traditions of blind asceticism, of a theocracy still more political than religious that the priest will become once more a man and a citizen.'

Pfarrer Hell in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld struggles against his love for Annerl. He has to marry her to someone else. 'Es wird mir doch schwerer, als ich dachte - vor den Altar zu treten, das entscheidende, ewig bindende Wort ihr abzufordern!' Anzengruber directs that he should exclaim first passionately 'O, wenn sie stammelte - wenn sie es nicht über die Lippen brachte!' - and then aghast, 'Was dann? Was denn dann, Tor - bringt dir anderer Verlust Gewinn?! - Pfui, bist du noch nicht dein Meister geworden?!' Finally he decides not to look at Annerl but to let his eyes rest on the congregation to whom his heart should belong. 'War doch kein Opfer noch umsonst!! O lass dich ganz von Opferfreudigkeit durchdringen, blick über alles aus ins Land der Zukunft und grüsse mit vernarbten Wunden die Brüder jener Tage, denen dieses Kleid nicht mehr den Kampf zwischen Schande und Entsagung zur Pflicht macht!'<sup>2</sup> (See Das Sündkind p.16 in which Anzengruber treats a similar situation very differently).

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Ignaz von Döllinger edited 1894, p.249 quoted in the Catholic encyclopedia p.482.

<sup>2</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld Act IV, sc.3. Vol.2, pp.88-89.

Georges Sand suggested after Père Hyacinthe left the Church to get married that confession would become quite difficult if the vicar's wife gossiped. One of the favourite activities of the nineteenth century anticlericals was to attack the practice of confession, and in particular to protest against the hold which, they maintained, the priest gained over women. Anzengruber treats this theme in his comedy Die Kreuzelschreiber in which Steinklopferhanns and the power of nature outwit the priests who have asked the women to deny their husbands conjugal rights in order to punish them for signing an Old Catholic petition. At the end of the first part of the second Act Anton exclaims, 'Himmelheiligkreuzdonnerwetter, ich möcht doch wissen, wie s'dazu kämnen, dass sie sich zwischen Mon und Weib einmischen!' <sup>1</sup> He later complains to Steinklopferhanns,

'Wie aus wär für Lebzeit mit aller wahr Lieb und häuslich Zucht und Ehrbarkeit!' - Da kommen die Weiber - grad dö Weiber, dö doch zum Mon halten solln, und wann ihn sonst a alle Welt verlasset - da kommen s'hergrennt auf a fremd Wort und a fremd Ansehn, und dö sollt auß amal mehr gelten - und gilt ihnen a mehr - als all die jahrlang Lieb und Sorg um sie! Himmlischer Water, wohin sollt denn dö führen? - Hans, 's is a Rauberswelt, bist nur sicher, solange d'nix hast, - hast was, so langen s'von alle Seiten zu und du sollst davon abgebn; je mehr d'hast, je mehr bist unfrei! - An Geld und Gut, an Weib und Kind, wo s'nur ein Endl derwischen können, fassen s'dich an und du sollst dabei stillhalten wie a Gecklmandl an der Wand und nur deine vorge-schriebnen Sprüung dazu machen. Aber dö, dö is doch's letzte, und was für Hand mir auch ins Nest greifen - ob gweihte oder ungweihte - da hoasst's: Vogel, wehr dich!' <sup>2</sup>

These words anticipate Einsam's in Stahl und Stein: 'Wann sich der Dachs und der Bär um eahner Höhln wehrn, so wird's doch mir, was ich a Mensch bin, a zustehn!' <sup>3</sup> Stahl und Stein is the story Der Einsam

<sup>1</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act II, sc.5. Vol.IV, p.42.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.i. Vol.IV, pp.68-69.

<sup>3</sup> Stahl und Stein, Act III, sc.2. Vol.III, p.255.

dramatised. In the story the priest Eisner opposes a village delinquent, Einsam, who refuses to submit to his tyrannical rule and causes him to be killed, before he discovers that the victim is his own son.

Anzengruber mentions only two irreproachable priests, Milde in Stahl und Stein and Gottwalt in Der Fleck auf der Ehr and makes several determined attacks on the Catholic priest as a person and as a social and political influence. He shows himself particularly hostile to priests in Der Einsam and Das Sündkind, the story of an immoral priest who after he has had to renounce his hopeless love for the lovely Marie-Lies succumbs to the wiles of his predecessor's illegitimate daughter. Koessler points out that no friend of the Church would have dealt with the material of this short story. He calls it '"dynamite" destinée à faire sauter le vieux christianisme villageois d'origine romaine. Ce n'est qu'une nouvelle, il est vrai, écrite par un auteur dramatique réduit au silence.'<sup>1</sup>

#### The Psychology of the Believer.

According to Anzengruber, whether a priest is good or bad matters little, for simply by being a priest he injures human society. He belongs to an organisation whose aim is contrary to human nature and human happiness. The clergy's teaching, Anzengruber declares, makes people confused and deluded, superstitious and misguided.

'Wer denkt dran, wann er a Schar Bauern sieht, dass vorn kein geistlicher Herr is?!' says Bartl, one of the minor characters in the comedy Doppelsebstmord. Since the peasants are not well

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Anzengruber. Auteur dramatique by Louis Koessler. Toulouse, 1943, p.209.

educated the priests are able, if they wish, to dominate over them, or at any rate to think for them. Many appear to be Christian only by baptism, custom and constraint. The opening scene of Doppelselbstmord claims that most peasant worshippers do not understand divine service nor find it interesting. They do not apply what they hear in Church in their everyday lives, for they have learned the Catholic doctrine by rote.

Chor.     Fleissig in d'Kirchen gehn  
             Zu Gottes Ehr  
             Und dort aufpassa schön  
             Af d'Christenlehr!

Natal.   Ob's heut der Pfarra wieder so lang macht, dass mer meint,  
             mer kimmt gar neama ins Wirtshaus?

Sepp.     No, ich verhoff's doch net!

Chor.     So wie sich selbn allzeit  
             Den Nächsten lieb  
             Und durch Boshafftigkeit  
             Neamand betrüb!<sup>1</sup>

After this verse finishes the village lads engage in coarse, hurtful conversation, teasing the young girls.

In Der Meineidbauer the Grossknecht is well aware that the peasant girls, although they hurry off to Church as if they were pious, are really interested only in seeing the peasant lads there.

'Bei mir muss die Kirch ruhig sein, dos jung Gfliederwerk kann ich drein nit brauchen, ich nimm allweil mit der zweit Mess vorlieb, dö erst, die Grossherrn- und Verliebt-Leut-Mess, wo sie sich in die Kirchstuhl breit machen und im Kirchgang an die Vortuchbandeln zupfen und auf d'Füss treten, dö pass ich allemal ab.'<sup>2</sup>

In the sixth scene the girls and boys returning from Church bait the

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<sup>1</sup> Doppelselbstmord, Act I, sc.1. Vol.IV, p.175.

<sup>2</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act I, sc.1. Vol.III, p.31.



unfortunate Vroni who has just been jilted. She retaliates by singing:

Es Kreuzel am Mieder  
Und's Bücherl voll Lieder,  
So stazts ihr im Sonntag-gwand  
In d'Kirchen miteinand!  
Da tuts es so gschamig,  
So christlich und so frumb,  
Doch wie unta d'Wochen  
Seids allzsamm a Glump!<sup>1</sup>

Such a state of affairs as he has described in Der Meineidbauer and Doppelselbstmord has lasted so long, Anzengruber says, that one should blame not the pupil but the teacher, not the peasant but the priest. Instead of improving the peasant, religion has retarded his moral development. This is true not only of the peasant but of some aristocrats also such as Count von Finsterberg in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld whose vindictiveness is un-Christian. The figure of Matthias Ferner in Der Meineidbauer is particularly exaggerated. He is proud, egoistic and cruel by nature, but not a criminal by nature. He becomes a criminal because of his faith which is of course perverted. Religion, Anzengruber states in Aphorism 152, weakens a man's sense of personal responsibility for what he does. As Matthias Ferner shoots at his son who has refused to give his father an incriminating letter, he cries,

'Er hat's selber nit anderscht wolln, es is ihm völlig von Kind auf bstimmt gwesen durch meine Hand. - Tief liegt er jetzt unt, - der Wildbach reisst ihn mit - bis zum scharfen Gfäll dort über die Kanten bleibt kein Stück von ihm ganz - den Brief verschwemmt's - und den Aufweis gegen mich und den Mitwisser bringt keins mehr ans Licht. Dös is a Schickung, dös muss a Schickung sein.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act.I, sc.6. Vol.III, p.23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act II, sc.10. Vol.III, p.82.

Generally speaking Anzengruber criticises Christians, because they are, he says, heartless like Matthias Ferner. They lack Christian charity and this is apparent, Anzengruber seeks to prove, in their attitude to Lutherans and Jews, to seducers and the seduced, to illegitimate children and old people. The schoolmaster in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld appeals to Talmüller-Loisl to renounce his Lutheran bride,

'Talmüller-Loisl, öffentlicher Sünder, tritt vor, ich beschwöre dich, tritt vor! Siehst du nicht in dieser wunderbaren Begegnung, die ist als ob sich dir die Heerscharen des Himmels selbst entgegenwürfen, einen Fingerzeig des Himmels?! Noch ist es Zeit, lass die unheilvolle Hand der Ketzlerin fahren!'<sup>1</sup>

Before Heinrich Bergegger in Ein Unheimlicher discovers that Aaron Leeb is his benefactor and most loyal friend he treats the Jew shamefully, even running him over, and then not taking the trouble to find out how badly he has been injured. The short stories Makulatur and Getreu dem Feldzeichen discuss the problem of seduction which occurs quite frequently throughout Anzengruber's works, as does the question of illegitimate children. Steinklopferhanns in Die Kreuzelschreiber, Vroni in Der Meineidbauer and Magdalena in Der Schandfleck all find out how unkind and unloving people can be to illegitimate children. Grünes Reis unterm Schnee tells the story of one of the many unloved, unwanted old people and describes "das Arme-Leut-Haus". 'Es soll da drinnen zwar auch nicht friedsam zugehen, und was die Gemeinde widerwillig gibt, das verzehren die Pfründner unter Gekeife und Hader.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act.I, sc.3. Vol.II, p.25.

<sup>2</sup> Grünes Reis unterm Schnee. Vol.XI, p.488.

Hard hearts, suspicious hearts are those of Catholic believers, according to Anzengruber. He traces the evil back to Catholic doctrine which requires at times that a believer should be credulous in the extreme. When in 1870 the Dogma of Infallibility made some Catholics protest, Anzengruber said to them through his Steinklopferhanns: 'Hast du bisher 's ganze Pfund glaubt, werden dich die paar Lot ~~Zu~~wag' a nit umbringen.'<sup>1</sup> The Church does not help a man to reason nor to be independent and it neglects to develop his moral conscience. All these charges Anzengruber brings against the Church.

Prayers and hymns, fasting and pilgrimages, saints' days and alms-giving confuse believers who think that if they participate in such religious activities and observances they are good Christians. Thus they turn divine rites into superstitious rites. They are afraid of responsibility and try to make others responsible for what they do. When men succumb to superstitious fears, they rely on some power they may call 'divine' to protect and guide them. In Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern Anzengruber writes,

'Leider fährt ... bei den Leuten die Heilslehre häufig ebenso übel wie die Heilkunde, was für diese die Quacksilberei, ist für jene der Aberglaube, die wenigsten fragen darnach und achten darauf, aus welchen Anfängen und Anlässen Sünden und Krankheiten erwachsen und sie befallen, sondern erst, wenn der Schade ausgebrochen ist, soll ein Trank, ein Pflaster, eine Salbe oder eine Reliquie, eine Messe, eine Wallfahrt alles wieder wettmachen.'<sup>2</sup>

In Anzengruber's most serious tale about superstition, Die Körbelflechter-Kathrein, old Brunnlechner imagines that Katherin is contriving to kill him by using black arts. He therefore invokes God's

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act.I, sc.6. Vol.IV, p.26.

<sup>2</sup> Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern. Vol.XII, p.35.



aid, as he believes, and in order to preserve his life kills Katherin. Anzengruber concludes, 'So waren die beiden am Aberglauben zugrunde gegangen, an dem Glauben ohne Trost und Segen, für dessen Opfer die Welt kein Mitleid, sondern nur ein wunderndes Kopfschütteln hat.'<sup>1</sup>

When people build wayside shrines, erect pillars in time of plague, address prayers to patron saints or even cross themselves when they feel uneasy, fear prompts them.

'Allen diesen Gebräuchen lag die Angst zugrunde, und der Ursprung aller religiöser Übungen war das Vertrauen auf die Allmacht göttlicher Intervention. Die Heiligen wurden buchstäblich als Stellvertreter Gottes angesehen, "jeder hatte sein besonderes Fach und Feld". Je nach seinen Wünschen fand der Gläubige bei ihnen die nötige sozusagen autorisierte Fürbitte; sie waren den Lebenden gleichgestellt, schienen ihr legendenhaftes Dasein im vertraulichen Verkehr mit den sie Anbetenden fortzuführen.'<sup>2</sup>

Worshippers make requests and interpret signs, running the risk of becoming fetish worshippers. The cow of 'der gottüberlegene Jakob' is sick and so he decides to force God to cure her. (Anzengruber's peasants regard God as some one who may be duped).

'Unser lieber Herrgott muss noch herum zu kriegen sein, sonst ist's gefehlt. - Aber die lieben Heiligen sind ja extra zum Fürbitten da. - Die wird er doch nit aus leidigem Eigensinn um eine wohlvermeinte Ehr bringen? - Ganz gottunmöglich. - Und da drauf mögen sie sich wohl berufen, wenn ihnen einer nit mit leeren Händen kommt v. v.'<sup>3</sup>

Jakob prays to all the saints who have shrines in the church, promising them a reward if they cure Liesl. In order to avoid having to buy new candles for each saint he had importuned, he sells the cured cow to a rich farmer and then tells him what he has promised, 'weil halt zu Anfang der liebe Herrgott nit hat daran mögen und er ihn erst hat

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<sup>1</sup> Die Körbelflechter-Kathrein. Vol. XII, p. 558.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Rosegger by A. Vulloïd. Leipzig 1913, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Der gottüberlegene Jakob. Vol. XI, p. 147.

bemüssen müssen.<sup>1</sup> Others try to buy God's favour or to make him an accomplice. In Ein Mann den Gott liebt Florian Traidmann 'half, als guter Christ, allen und jedem im Orte, wenn auch zu unchristlichen Prozenten'.<sup>2</sup> He thinks that he owes his luck and wealth to God who favoured him more than anyone else in the village. Matthias Ferner in Der Meineidbauer tries to implicate God in his crimes and seeks to keep favour by giving money to the Church and going to church regularly. When God does not fulfil their wishes some worshippers reprimand him. Eisner, after hearing he has caused his son's death, exclaims: 'So undankbarig kann Gott gegn mich sein, wo ich so viel für ihn getan hab und noch mehr z' tun willns war?'<sup>3</sup> Feron, the director of a troupe of actors in Wie mit dem Herrgott umgangen wird caresses the image of Christ as he prays for fine weather. It rains and so he begins to rail at the Lord and flings his image to the floor. Near the end of the story Anzengruber writes:

Er steht nichtallein, er hat gering seine hunderttausend Brüder, die Fetischanbeter... Wir wollen uns gar nicht bemühen, heraus zu bekommen, wieviel ihrer sind... Wollen auch nicht fragen nach den Lästern, die den Herrgott ausschimpfen, nicht nach jenen, die ihn stets mit dem Munde lobpreisen und durch jedes Tun verunehren, nicht nach den Verbitterten, welche ihm den Glauben aufkünden, wenn es nie und nimmer wird, wie sie es wünschen und ersehnen; nein wir wollen nur, dass derjenige sich melde, der nie in seinem Leben eine Stunde hatte, wo er Gott wie einen seinesgleichen begreifen wollte und über ihn den Kopf schüttelte.<sup>4</sup>

Because people are unwilling to make decisions for themselves, they try to turn God into their adviser, but they are not unbiased when they approach him so that, Anzengruber declares, they read what

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<sup>1</sup> Der gottüberlegene Jakob. Vol.XI, p.159.

<sup>2</sup> Ein Mann, den Gott liebt. Vol.XIV, p.408.

<sup>3</sup> Stahl und Stein, Act.II, sc.15. Vol.III, p.247.

<sup>4</sup> Wie mit dem Herrgott umgangen wird. Vol.XIV, pp.316-317.

they want into events. They use God like a pagan oracle. They exploit people and events egoistically and use the word 'Christian' to cover what they do. Anzengruber illustrates these points in plays such as Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld and Der ledige Hof and in stories such as Der gottüberlegene Jakob. In Hand und Herz Katherine does not mention that she is already married. She asks God for a sign to guide her, finds none and so marries Weller, her employer.

'Ich dachte: Görg sei wohl tot - nur Gott, den Menschen nicht sei ich Rechenschaft schuldig und Gott sei gnädig, seine Hand hätte mich ja dem Weller zugeführt... es war eine Trauung wie andere, keine Blume fiel aus meinem Haar, kein Ring kollerte zur Erde, dass die Leute darüber erschrecken konnten.'

Koessler remarks, 'Cathérine était devenue bigame, avec l'assentiment de Dieu.'<sup>2</sup> In Der Meineidbauer the son, Franz, in a scene which Anzengruber later dropped says to his father,

'Und wenn du dich zehnmal bekreuzest und segnest und hinter salbungsvollen Sprüchenverschanz'st, du bist doch auf dem Wege nach einem Schurkenstreiche und deine Frömmerei, die in bequemen Glauben den Himmel dienstbar macht und dir in allen Dingen Zeichen und Wunder zurechtlegt, wie du sie eben brauchst, sie wird dich wohl, zum allerwenigsten abhalten, diesen Weg bis ans Ziel zu verfolgen!'

He goes on to criticise his father because he is not independent.

Anzengruber inveighs also against the evil effects which, according to him, confession exerts on the moral sense. Matthias Ferner who has cheated his brother's children of their inheritance thinks that he will be forgiven if he makes his son into a priest.

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<sup>1</sup> Hand und Herz, Act III, sc.3. Vol.III, p.149.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Koessler. Toulouse, 1943, p.219.

<sup>3</sup> Der Meineidbauer. Vol.III, p.299.

This son can hear his confession and thus no one else need discover his secret. Ferner's nephew Jakob 'war der beste in Katechismus, hat alle Sünden gwisst, die man nit tun soll, hat aber a gwisst, dass die Sünden in der Beicht vergebn werdn, so is er halt doch a Dieb und Vagabund wordn'.<sup>1</sup> Döllinger is reported to have said about the practice of confession:

'With many people I observed that they really did not attach any meaning to the ordinance, and often I failed to find in them a trace of sincere contrition or purpose of amendment, - the form was complied with and there was an end of the matter. ... Neither could I blind myself to the fact that habitual sinners - for instance, drunkards or calumniators - often came to confession with no intention of amendment, but lived on afterwards in precisely the same manner.'

Döllinger continues,

'Again, I have known people seek about for a lax confessor who will absolve them without making difficulty, thus actually persuading themselves that it is possible to deceive the Almighty.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber confuses the legitimate, indispensable use of symbolism in religion and the abuse of it in 'fetish' worship. Certainly Christianity has tolerated superstitious beliefs - indeed it took over some pagan rites and festivals, investing them with Christian significance. Vulloïd in his biography of Rosegger investigates the problem and concludes:

'Das Bedürfnis zu glauben mischt sich auf dieser Bildungsstufe mit dem Bedürfnis, alle geheimen und furchtbaren Kräfte der übernatürlichen Welt günstig zu stimmen. Unter dem Deckmantel des Christentums lebte das alte Heidentum weiter. "Auch ich habe vor des Landmannes Hausaltären gekniet, ohne heute noch zu wissen, ob ich Gott oder Göttern gedient", sagt Rosegger in den Alplern'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Conversations of Dr. Döllinger recorded by Louise v. Kobell, trans. by Katharine Gould. London, 1892, p.117.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Rosegger by A. Vulloïd. Leipzig 1913, p.269.  
(Alpler by P.K. Rosegger, p.8).

Rosegger also says that what an uneducated man finds strange and inexplicable affects him strongly - especially in districts cut off from the tide of world events. Nature appears to be the arena for two equally great forces, the one good, the other evil. The peasant isolated and at the same time dependent on the elements is continually aware of these rival powers. 'Das Wenige von Menschenwerken, was er begreifen konnte, war ihm göttlichen Ursprungs; das viele, was er nicht begreifen konnte, war ihm Hexerei und Teufelswerk.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber maintains in his story Tod und Teufel that death is merely the personification of an idea and the devil only 'eine Fiktion'. He describes more forcefully how the idea of the devil affects uneducated minds in the third Act of Der Meineidbauer and in the village tale Liesel, die an den Teufel glaubt.

Anzengruber used not only melodramatic means when he attacked 'la mythomanie chrétienne'<sup>2</sup> but also the weapons of irony and ridicule, as for example in Der Gwissenswurm. In this comedy the simple, reasonable views of the healthy, happy Horlacherlies displaces the old, gloomy, decaying religion which the self-seeking Dusterer preaches. Often Anzengruber contends that a new religion is needed. Dusterer and his ideas, Matthias Ferner's views in Der Meineidbauer are outdated. (See also Das vierte Gebot, Vol.V, p.182). Hell in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld says,

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<sup>1</sup> Älpler by P.K. Rosegger, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Koessler, Toulouse 1943, p.224.



'Ich habe nie noch etwas bildlich genommen, das sich nicht wirklich verwerten lässt; bei unsern heiligen Büchern, die selbst die Bildersprache führen, hab ich mich nie bedacht, das Bild im grössern Sinne zu nehmen denn die Deutungen, sie müssen mit den Zeiten wachsen, sonst geht's dem Okzidente, wie dem weiten Orient, der regungslos nun vor uns liegt, wie ein über seinen Bildern eingeschlafenes Kind.'<sup>1</sup>

The believer, Anzengruber suggests, is at least half asleep, for he is generally poorly educated, superstitious and immoral. He is poorly educated, because the Church and certain sections of secular society find it advantageous to keep him thus.<sup>2</sup> Most of the Catholics he presents in his works are misguided or exploited - if they are priests or rich landowners or industrialists they are most often intent on exploiting their fellows. No matter what their social position might be, Anzengruber thought that the Church had for centuries corrupted the minds of believers, created certain psychological defects and aggravated others. Interested as he was in social reform, Anzengruber protested against a way of life which, he considered, made it difficult for people to concentrate freely on improving social conditions. If people believed that the things of this world were not worth having, that this life itself was only a testing period for a better life to come, that the social order was divinely ordained, they could never be free to make what Anzengruber hoped would be a heaven on earth - the only kind of heaven he himself could believe in - a golden age which he discerned now and then in the distant future. Men, he said, need a new religion as they need a new society - not Catholic, not Christian at all.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act I, sc.2. Vol.II, pp.14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the chapter on 'Anzengruber's Weltanschauung', p.

Anzengruber's Heretics.

One of Anzengruber's dear heretics, Hauderer, in Doppelselbstmord says,

'No eben, da rennen s'in Rudeln eine und schrein unsern Herrgott'n d'Ohrn voll. Dös taugt mer net, ich geh schon a, aber unter der Wocha, wo's schön ruhig is. Ich brauchn alloanig, ich hab a bsunders Gebitt.

Zangl. No, was denn?

Hauderer. Dass er sein möcht.

Zangl. No, is er denn nöt?

Hauderer. Für d'Reichen, mag wohl sein'.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly all Anzengruber's heretics, and certainly all his favourites, are poor. He argued that if the Church's teaching on charity were put into practice, it would revolutionise civilisation. He resented the fact that under social conditions existing at that time wealth was so unevenly distributed. Seeing men divided into rich and poor, that is, happy and wretched, contributed among other factors to words he noted five times in his aphorisms: 'Es ist Religion an keinen Gott zu glauben.'<sup>2</sup> In Aphorism 272 he concludes, 'Wer ihn dem Un- und Wahnsinn der Welt gegenüber glaubt - der lästert ihn.'<sup>3</sup> Hauderer rebels against a state of affairs (and a God) that allows Sentner, his rich rival, always to frustrate him. Sentner even lures away his betrothed because he is so rich and Hauderer so poor. Hauderer later says to

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<sup>1</sup> Doppelselbstmord, Act I, sc.4. Vol.IV, p.187.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorisms 271-274. Vol.VIII, p.79 and Aphorism 268. Vol.VIII, p.78.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 272. Vol.VIII, p.79.

his rival, 's Vertraun af Gott und Welt war hin - weisst denn du, was eins mitmachen muss, bus mar alls für a Dummheit anschaut?!<sup>1</sup>  
Anzengruber himself turned from orthodox religion. He was in dire need and he explains,

'In grimmigster Not schrie ich auf zu Gott, und als er immer nicht helfen wollte, stellte ich mein Ultimatum, half es nicht, so mochte er zusehen, ob ich noch an ihn glaube und was weiter daraus folge! Darüber kann wohl ein gläubiger lachen und der Ungläubige, ich tat es später auch'.<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber's peasant stories and plays fill in the gaps in his few autobiographical writings, for in them he gives a kind of confession of what he experienced as he turned into (what he calls) an atheist. Perhaps this explains why he is so deeply interested in his dear heretics. They appear to stand head and shoulders above the other characters. Poor pioneers of the coming golden age which Anzengruber hoped for, these heretics - Steinklopferhanns in Die Kreuzelschreiber, Hell and Wurzelsepp in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Burgerlies in Der Meineidbauer, Weldner in Der ledige Hof, Hauderer in Doppelsebstmord and Einsam in Stahl und Stein - are dignified because they have suffered and live courageously. Wurzelsepp is the only one among them to be converted again, although it is not the Church but Hell's personal influence which reclaims him shortly before Hell is excommunicated for holding unorthodox beliefs. Burgerlies stops going to Church, because she believed in signs like her 'pious' adversary, Ferner.

'Damals wie der Meineidbauer sein Hand hat zu Gott aufgehobn, nur dass ihm die gstudierten Leut seines Bruders Hab und Gut zusprechen, da is kein Donner vom Himmel gfalln, die Erd hat

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<sup>1</sup> Doppelsebstmord, Act II, sc.5. Vol.IV, pp.232-233.

<sup>2</sup> Biographische Fragmente. Nr.33 Ego. Vol.I, p.275.



sich nit aufstan, mein Kind is in Not und Unehr dagstanden und a so verstorbn - und der Meineidbauer is heuttags noch a reicher Mann. Seither war's fertig in mir! Dö Welt taugt mir nit, wo so was drin gschehn kann. Seit damol heissen s' mich gottlos.'<sup>1</sup>

Of Weldner in Der ledige Hof Koessler writes, 'Weldner, tel est le nom symbolique de ce maître d'école, croit fermement à la science moderne; il semble même se ranger parmi les darwinistes, c'est-à-dire les pires ennemis de la religion'.<sup>2</sup> Although he says he does not entirely agree with the Theory of Evolution, he remarks to Segner, 'Bedenken Hochwürden nur, waren unsere Urahnen Affen, dann haben wir es doch zu etwas gebracht; sind's aber Ebenbilder Gottes gewesen, dann sind wir schön herabgekommen'.<sup>3</sup> He advises Agnes to be more independent: 'Keine Last wird minder, wenn man mit ihr hinkniet, und man kommt nur schwerer wieder in die Höh.... Allfort aufrecht!'<sup>4</sup> Franz Ferner in one version of a scene in Der Meineidbauer tries to explain his new attitude,

'Ich wüsste nicht, wozu wir selbst Hände zum Zulangen hatten und wozu die Erde unser Tummelplatz wäre, wenn nicht, damit wir hier selbst das Unsere besorgen - ? - Und in den Händen des Gottes - Alter - wie du ihn in deinen Anschauungen und Gebeten lästerst, lassen wir heutzutage nichts mehr.'<sup>5</sup>

Anzengruber lets us hear the sorely tried Katharine who has bigamously married Weller, since the Church will not recognise divorce, cry, 'Selig sind die, die nicht glauben',<sup>6</sup> and Weller

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act I, sc.9. Vol.III, -.34.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Koessler. Toulouse 1943, p.232.

<sup>3</sup> Der ledige Hof, Act III, sc.3. Vol.II, p.154.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Act.IV, sc.3. Vol.II, p.171.

<sup>5</sup> Der Meineidbauer - appendix to Vol.III, p.299.

<sup>6</sup> Hand und Herz, Act III, sc.3. Vol.III, p.152.

protest,

'Barmherzigkeit? - Gerechtigkeit verlang ich! Rechnet er den andern Geschöpfen nach? - Wenn keines, was braucht der Mensch zu wissen, was er tut? Was schleppt sich der zu der gemeinen Not, zum närrischen Spiel des Zufalls noch das Elend der Satzungen ins Haus? Liegen die Karten noch einmal so, es wird dasselbe Spiel, mir bleibt kein anderer Trumpf! - Der langt nicht - und so geb ich's auf!'<sup>1</sup>

After Weller has killed Görg, his wife's first husband, a drunkard and wastrel, he cries, 'Gott allein will ich Rede stehen, vor seinem Richterstuhl will ich ihn fragen: Was er damit gewollt hat, als er die Welt erschuf'.<sup>2</sup>

Some heretics blaspheme like Weller or are defiant like Burgerlies, others seem to be happy, even serene, humorous and helpful, because, Anzengruber says, they have reached a more advanced moral plane and are more independent than most orthodox believers who accept the existing order of things and believe religious 'legends'. All Anzengruber's heretics are concerned with social as well as religious problems: Hell suffers for his religious views which are too liberal for the Church he serves; Wurzelsepp is frustrated because of marriage problems - he is not allowed to marry his sweetheart, a Lutheran; Weller and Katharine meet with religious and social difficulties, as they struggle with problems of bigamy and divorce; Steinklopferhanns and Einsam know how unhappy the illegitimate can be in a religious community; Hauderer who is miserably poor thinks God may exist for the rich; Burgerlies whom people term 'gottlos' makes God responsible for the injustice which a 'religious' man like Matthias Ferner, (Der Meineidbauer) and

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<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> Hand und Herz, Act V, sc.4. Vol.III, pp.175 and 176.

social convention combine to do her. In all these instances, Anzengruber points out, men have been taught that God rules the world, that society is therefore divinely ordained, and so, he says, when they are hungry, when they suffer unjustly, they cry out against God who, for the economic and social convenience of certain sections of society, has been made responsible for the existing structure of society. Anzengruber writes in Aphorism 290: 'Da rufst du die Götter an, in deiner Not, hast du aber Hilfe je anders als durch Menschen kommen sehen oder das Verderben anders als durch sie?'<sup>1</sup>

The heretics in Anzengruber's works are often social outcasts - either because they choose to stand aside, or because superstitious people shun them if they do not attend church. Anzengruber says that his heretics follow the road which leads to the golden future he envisages. Hell is excommunicated because he has turned into this road.

'Wie oft schon lag wie hier das Morgengrau, eine nahende, neue Zeit, über der schweigenden Erde, da traten sie zur Kirche heran, die vorwärtsdrängenden Gestalten, da bot Calvin, da bot der Wittenberger Mönch die Hand, jedoch die Hand ward nicht erfaßt, der Schritt ward ~~vorwärts~~ nicht getan; in dem Entsetzen, das die Lenker fasste, geschah er stets zurück'.<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber could not tolerate the existence of a Church which hindered progress - a religion concerned with God rather than man, with the next world rather than this. Korff would find him no doubt typical of modern man 'der mit der neuen Zeit aufgewacht war zu Weltleidenschaft und Weltgläubigkeit'.<sup>3</sup> He wanted 'a new religion'

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 290. Vol.VIII, p.84.

<sup>2</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act I, sc.2. Vol.II, p.18.

<sup>3</sup> Geist der Goethezeit by H. Korff. I Teil. 2.Auflage, Leipzig, 1954, p.18.

in which the believer would be 'kein Christ und kein Heid und kein Türk', a 'new' heresy which he put into the mouth of his most enlightened heretic, Steinklopferhanns. In fact, Anzengruber has little that is new to offer with his quasi-mystical, pantheistic-humanistic belief in 'Man'. His ideas are frequently those of the eighteenth century - especially those which continue and develop in Feuerbach. He shares Lessing's criticism of religion: it is too resigned and passive, not active, constructive, eager for social reform.<sup>1</sup> His conceptions of death and God he derived from Feuerbach and of course his pantheism is far from new.

#### The Stonebreaker's Secret.

Steinklopferhanns is sick and alone when he has his "extraige Offenbarung".

'Sollst versterben, stirbst drausst; die grün Wiesen breit die a weiche Tüchert unter und d'Sonn druckt dir die Augen zu, du schlaftst ein und wirst nimmer munter, der Tod is nur a Bremsler, was kann dir gschehn?! ... und wie ich ... in die Welt hineinschau, wie sie sich rührt und laut und lebzig is um und um ... - da wird mir auf einmal so verwogen, als wär ich von freien Stücken entstanden, und inwendig so wohl, als wär hell Sonnenlicht von vorhin in mein Körper verbliebn --- und da kommt's über mich, wie wann eins zu ein'm andern redt: Es kann dir nix gschehn! - Du ghörst zu dem alln und dös alls ghört zu dir! Es kann dir nix gschehn! - Und dös war so lustig, dass ich's all andern rund herum zugjauchzt hab: Es kann dir nix gschehn! - Jujuju! - Da war ich's erstmal lustig und bin's a seither bliebn und möcht, 's sollt a kein andrer traurig sein und mo'r mein lustig Welt verderbn! - No, lustig, lustig, Gelbhofbauer, - es kann dir nix gschehn!'

The Gelbhofbauer, Anton Huber, to whom Steinklopferhanns has been

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lessing's Gesammelte Schriften, Vol.IV, p.141.

relating the story of his life exclaims, 'Du Sakra, du! Ja, was bist du denn nachher? Du bist ja kein Christ und kein Heid und kein Türk! - No, du brauchst halt kein Predigt über d'Nächstenlieb'.<sup>1</sup> This riddle, however insoluble it may appear to Anton, is not a riddle at all to those who know about pantheism and about Anzengruber's debts to the pantheistic tradition.

The quotation from Die Kreuzelschreiber given above illustrates points made by Korff in his brief survey of pantheism. Korff mentions the pantheistic conception of God 'als die Seele der Welt.'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber once wrote in a letter to his friend Franz Lipka:

'siegen muss ich oder fallen - dass aber das erstere geschehen möge, das hoffe ich zu Gott, aber nicht zu dem alten Ueberall und Nirgends der Kirche, sondern zu dem, der in den Adern des Weltalls dem Blutstrom gleich gesetzmässig pulsiert - und in dessen Hand ich mich willenlos ergebe und doch sein werde: wie ich bin'.<sup>3</sup>

In another letter to Franz he wrote enthusiastically of the new era -

'Die Zeit der Vernunft - lass desgleichen auch Du sie leben und in stiller Nacht des Sylvester lasse in uns aufgehen den Keim, der dem Schosse der Natur, unseres durchlebten Gottes, zum Reifen anvertraut sei - und reifen wird - .....!<sup>4</sup>

One letter he concluded 'in Gottes Namen, der bei mir das Ich der Natur ist'.<sup>5</sup>

The pantheistic view does not agree with the Christian conception of heaven and earth

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act III, sc.1. Vol.IV, pp.72-73.

<sup>2</sup> Geist der Goethezeit by H.A. Korff, I Teil, 2.Auflage, Leipzig, 1954, p.19.

<sup>3</sup> An Franz Lipka, Wiener Neustadt am 25. Jänner, 1861. Briefe I, p.22.

<sup>4</sup> An Franz Lipka, Pettavium, den 29. Dezember, 1864. Briefe I, p.95.

<sup>5</sup> An Franz Lipka, Marburg, den 8. November, 1863. Briefe I, p.60.

'mit einem im Himmel thronenden Gott und seiner transzendenten Justiz, die den Menschen nach dem Tode erwartet, unauflöslich gebunden. Gibt es statt dessen nur noch eine Welt, die irdisch scheint und himmlisch ist, so gibt es keine Sorge mehr um unser ewiges Seelenheil, und mit dem Tode tauchen wir nur noch hinab in den göttlichen Grund der Welt'.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore the Church which in the Christian order of things bridges the gap between God and Man, heaven and earth, loses its function. Pantheists no longer feared hell and the devil. Korff describes the change thus, 'Wenn man als den Kern der christlichen Religion Weltangst bezeichnen kann, so besteht das Urphänomen der pantheistischen Religiosität umgekehrt in Weltfrömmigkeit'.<sup>2</sup> Freed from their fears men became more confident. Steinklopferhanns' words, 'Was kann dir gschehn? ... Es kann dir nix gschehn' express what men who had confidence in nature thought of their position. They believed, 'Wie es auch sei, das Leben es ist gut', and for them death ceased to be terrible. To be part of the universe means peace and security to Steinklopferhanns. Nothing is lost - everything returns to the universe. These are the results of his 'extraige Offenbarung'. Before he had his revelation he had feared life and feared death. 'Ös jung Leut kennts freilich nur 'n lustigen Steinklopferhanns, aber es war schon a ander Zeit vorher: wie ich noch der arm Hansl war',<sup>3</sup> he says to the farmer Anton Huber. But through his pantheistic convictions he overcomes fear and becomes optimistic and confident:

'Mit 'm Traurigsein richt mer nix! Die Welt is a lustige Welt! Ich weiss 's, dass 's a lustige Welt is! Freilich, ös wisst 's nit; eng is noch aus 'm grossen Buch vorgelesen wordn, da hab ich schon mein extraige Offenbarung ghabt!'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Geist der Goethezeit by H.A. Korff. I. Teil, 2. Auflage. Leipzig, 1954, p.15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.20.

<sup>3</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act III, sc.1. Vol.IV, pp.70-71.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.70.



From the way in which Anzengruber describes Steinklopferhanns' experience we can see that he does not merely accept indifferently and disinterestedly the raw and brutal fact of death, but is bent on getting beyond it with certain metaphysical conceptions, at mitigating or denying its horror. Death appears merciful in Aphorism 229, because it ends pain; it means rest; it means freedom, 'wenn man von all dem Unsinn losgeschraubt ist'.<sup>1</sup> A man no longer has to struggle, to work bound by time and space. Anzengruber admits that death may seem dark and frightening.

'Ewige Nacht! Warum scheut man sich, in selbe unterzutauchen? Kein Empfinden - ah. Schrecken! Ein halboffenes Auge, um zu sehen, ob die Welt noch im Sonnenschein liegt oder Nacht, ob sie sich regt, die rege Welt.... So bist du ins Urewige zurückgesunken.'<sup>2</sup>

In the story Früher Tod Niederreitner Leopold is dying and Anzengruber simply writes: 'Draussen murmelt der Bach, die Bäume rauschen, der Lindenast pocht am das Fenster: „Komm in die Elemente!“'<sup>3</sup>

Life Anzengruber found more difficult to explain than death. He admits this in Aphorism 36. 'Der Tod ist allwege begreiflich, das Unbegreifliche ist und bleibt das Leben'.<sup>4</sup> He mentions in another aphorism that life could be the gift of an evil being, according to Lichtenberg. (Wenn ich Krieg, Hunger, Armut und Pestilenz betrachte, so kann ich unmöglich glauben, dass alles das Werk eines höchst weisen Wesens sei.... ).<sup>5</sup> Anzengruber was also well acquainted with

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 259. Tod. Vol.VIII, p.76.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorisms 265 and 266, Vol.VIII, p.77.

<sup>3</sup> Früher Tod. Vol.XIV, p.494.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 36. Vol.VIII, p.12.

<sup>5</sup> Aphorism 35. Vol.VIII, p.10. (Georg Christoph Lichtenbergs Hinterlassene Schriften. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von L.Ch. Lichtenberg und F. Kries. II.Teil. Wien 1844, p.56f.)

Darwin's and Haeckel's ideas, but he thought that their theories were not convincing. He analyses some of the ideas of contemporary materialists in his Aphorisms - especially in the 55th entitled Gegen den Materialismus. He still asks why we exist and reproduce. He asks what the meaning of the world is, and as he tries to find an answer he writes down the words 'Unsinn' and 'Wahnsinn' over and over again. He goes so far as to suggest that it is wrong to have children. 'All dem Elende, der Aussichtslosigkeit des Daseins gegenüber wäre wohl der Entschluss: keine Geschöpfe mehr ins Dasein rufen zu wollen, der heiligste.'<sup>1</sup> Although he pledged himself to be optimistic and to live courageously, he was on occasion pessimistic,<sup>2</sup> so that he could at one moment write, 'Die Korrektur der verderbten Welt steht jedem frei: Selbstmord',<sup>3</sup> and at another make the lovers in Doppelselbstmord scorn to commit suicide. He himself decided that to be pessimistic was to be diseased and that one should strive to recover.<sup>2</sup> In the end Anzengruber accepted life as Steinklopferhanns accepts it, secure because he knows that nothing is lost but returns to the universe. A man, Anzengruber says, should be courageous enough not only to live in the midst of adversity but to be happy also, to do his duty, to love and help his fellows and contribute his share to the progress of mankind. In order to do all these things properly he should choose to live life on this earth, as if it were an end in itself.

Anzengruber admitted that he had been reluctant to relinquish

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aphorisms 105-107. Vol.VIII, pp.27-28; Aphorism 107.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter on Anzengruber's Weltanschauung, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 114. Vol.VIII, p.30.



his hope of life eternal, but he ultimately had to conclude, he said, that the idea of immortality caused or contributed to social and moral evils. Other-worldly interests tended, he argued, to supersede worldly interests. As long as men hope for justice in another world or for a new life in which their dreams will come true, they will shirk responsibilities in this world or be content to suffer on earth while consoling themselves with thoughts of joy in heaven. Anzengruber wanted nothing to stand in the way of social reform - nothing which could interfere with the progress of mankind. He sets down his opinions in Aphorism 299, Nutzen des Sterblichkeitsglaubens:

'Erst wenn das Leben, als Leben, endlich begrenzt, als alleiniges, als Zweck des Daseins an sich betrachtet und aufgefasst und darnach alle Institutionen, Meinungen usw. geändert werden, wird die Entwicklung des Menschen in jene Bahnen gelenkt, welche das Individuum wirklich so veredelnd ausbilden kann, dass sie einer Dauer über dieses Leben hinaus würdig erscheinen dürften'.<sup>1</sup>

Old Huber in the village story, Wie der Huber ungläubig ward, thinks that people would be kinder to one another and spare others much unnecessary suffering; 'sie hätten keine Freude neben liegen lassen und keine Arbeit aufgeschoben, wenn wir gewusst hätten, es wäre einmal für allemal, nichts davor und nichts dahinter'.<sup>2</sup> Instead of saying, 'Sei fromm! sagt: sei brav!' Steinklopferhanns advises the villagers in his Märchen. Instead of signing religious petitions, seek to improve social conditions, he tells them in Die Kreuzelschreiber and in Die Geschichte von dö alten Himmeln he varies his theme saying that people should work harder instead of spending

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 299. Vol.VIII, p.86.

<sup>2</sup> Wie der Huber ungläubig ward, Vol.XI, p.137.

time praying. He puts words into God's mouth:

'Also soll es sein, dö Menschheit soll sich ohne Himmel behelfen, jeder soll seine Pflicht vorerst auf Erden redlich erfüllen, eh er nachfragt, was nachher kommt und mit ihm geschieht! Und wer da gelebt hat kreuzbrav und grundehrlich auf Erden, der braucht mein Gericht nicht zu fürchten und mein Lohn nit zu erbetteln!'<sup>1</sup>

These quotations and the following verses in which Steinklopferhanns says that heaven and hell are unnecessary, that organised religion is superfluous and that men are essentially good show that the stonebreaker helps Anzengruber to challenge his contemporaries to live life without what he called illusions - without God:

's gibt allmal ein Weg, der  
Zum Herrgottn führt  
Wär d' Höll a vermauert,  
Der Himmel versperrt.  
Der Herr braucht kein Himmel  
Kein höllisch Verderbn  
Denn mitten durchs Herz führt  
Die Strassen zu eahm!<sup>2</sup>

#### Life without God.

Steinklopferhanns' 'neu Evangeli' compounded of Anzengruber's pantheistic-humanistic convictions was no doubt intended to present Anzengruber's ideas to the country folk in a way which they could understand, and thus prepare the ground for the social reforms he longed to see carried out. He had said in effect that God did not exist, for when he said 'God' he meant at most certain cosmic forces. He had condemned the Church and rejected the Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Die Geschichte von dö alten Himmeln. Vol.XIV, pp.100-101.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act.III, sc.3. Vol.IV, p.82.

code of morals. Through Steinklopferhanns he tried to demonstrate that a man set free from the Church's toils should be proud and independent, not insecure and afraid. He does realise that a man must have something to live for. He writes in Aphorism 340: 'Die Lebenszeit, so kurz sie ist, ist doch immer noch zu lang für ihn, er (der Mensch) muss durch Religion, Stellung, Kunst beschäftigt werden.

'Leben allein, das kann er nicht'.<sup>1</sup> He wanted men to join forces and live for others, for humanity. 'Schliesst euch aneinander, wie Kinder, die fürchten, wie Mitleidende, wie Helden, aber schliesst euch aneinander! Ausser euch weder Heil noch Unheil....'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber could have said what Feuerbach says in the introductory remarks to the first edition of his works:

'Ich negire Gott, dass heisst bei mir: ich negire die Negation des Menschen; ich setze an die Stelle der illusorischen, phantastischen, himmlischen Position des Menschen, welche im wirklichen Leben nothwendig zur Negation des Menschen wird, die sinnliche, wirkliche, folglich nothwendig auch politische und sociale Position des Menschen'.<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber like Feuerbach wanted ultimately to transform men

'aus Gottesfreunden zu Menschenfreunden, aus Theologen zu Anthropologen, aus Theophilen zu Philanthropen, aus Kandidaten des Jenseits zu Studenten des Diesseits, aus Christen, welche ihrem eigenen Bekenntnis zufolge „halb Tier, halb Engel“ sind, zu Menschen, zu ganzen Menschen zu machen'.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 340. Vol.VIII, p.97.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 306. Vol.VIII, p.89.

<sup>3</sup> Sämmtliche Werke of Ludwig Feuerbach, Leipzig 1846. Vol.I, Introduction, pp.XIV-XV.

<sup>4</sup> Feuerbach's Werke, Leipzig 1846. Vol.VIII, p.29.

He shared with Feuerbach, too, the belief in human perfectibility which caused him to write: 'Menschgott muss es heissen, nicht Gott-mensch!'<sup>1</sup> Rommel points out that Feuerbach first proclaimed the new aims: 'Entgöttern und vermenschlichen!' which seemed to inspire Anzengruber. 'Opfer muss der Mensch auch in der neuen Religion bringen, aber nicht den himmelfernen Mächten, sondern der Mensch der Menschheit, diese dem Menschen'.<sup>2</sup> For him the empty altar was filled.

Having denied God and condemned the Church he looked at his unprotected world with a new feeling of independence and a new sense of responsibility. "The gods", he said, "are dead, but one lives on, 'der Gott im Menschen'".<sup>3</sup> At times, however, his faith in mankind was sorely tried. He asked, 'Was soll aus der Welt werden? Nichts anderes, als wie immer und allzeit gewesen, das, was der Mensch aus ihr macht'.<sup>4</sup> He hoped that men would make a real material heaven on earth, but he saw that his dreams belonged to the distant future, for men have not yet developed sufficiently. He cries, 'Krieg ... Blut... und Elend und Jammer! Bestien, lernt euch endlich vertragen'.<sup>5</sup> He says, sadly, 'Den Menschen ist die Menschheit noch ein zu weiter Begriff'.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes he is tempted to abandon any attempt to help men, 'aber ich werde diesem Vorsatze stets untreu, wenn ich sie leiden sehe'.<sup>7</sup> Finally he appeals, 'Oh, kommt zu uns, mit welcher Mutterhand führen wir euch - wenn auch durch glaubenslose Wüsten - bis ans Ziel'.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 291, Vol.VIII, p.84.      <sup>2</sup> Aphorism 287, Vol.VIII, p.83.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 289, Vol.VIII, p.84.      <sup>4</sup> Aphorism 288, Vol.VIII, p.84.

<sup>5&6</sup> Aphorisms 310 and 311. Vol.VIII, p.90 (See chapter on Anzen-gruber's Weltanschauung, p.      ).

<sup>7</sup> Aphorism 316. Vol.VIII, p.91.

<sup>8</sup> Aphorism 298. Vol.VIII, p.86.

Anzengruber uses certain characters to show others how to be practical humanists: Thomas Hammer in Heimgfunden, Kernhofer in Alte Wiener and of course Steinklopferhanns. Koessler explains Anzengruber's position. Although he was keenly critical, Anzengruber was also sentimental. In his great need to love, he turned to the new gospel, 'la Bible de l'Humanité, cette noble et généreuse mystique, succédané des religions effrondées, ce nouveau rêve d'un âge d'or, destiné à remplacer les vieux paradis à jamais évanouis'.<sup>1</sup> In fragments entitled Hellenbachiana<sup>\*</sup> Anzengruber examines and rejects spiritualism, because he concludes that Hellenbach had no reasonable basis for his writings:

'Hellenbach ist ein Kind der Zeit, unserer Zeit, er vermag es nicht, sich zu irgend einer positiven Religion zu bekennen, er vermag nicht auf dem Standpunkte des Materialismus stehen zu bleiben. Andere, Haeckel mit der Zellenseele, Jäger mit der Geruchstheorie vermochten es auch nicht. Er kann den Pessimismus nicht festhalten, so wenig er sich rückhaltlos dem Optimismus hingeben kann, was sehr verzeihlich ist. Diese Weltanschauungen verlagern eine konstante Stimmung - wer hat sie? Er will auch kein Atheist sein - aber Gott lässt er aus dem Spiel und ist es praktisch... Eines aber, das auch in der Zeit liegt und das diese verklärt, findet sich auch in ihm und da haben wir den voraussehenden, den klar darlegenden, den guten und edlen Menschen in ihm - den Humanistiker! - '2

Anzengruber's own life was for the most part life without God. In his 'nachgeholte Tagebücherei' Bis zum Fertigwerden he referred to his humanistic ideals:

Im Leben sind die Ideale im Kampfe wie die Fetzen hinweggeflogen. Nur eines blieb, eines: die Menschheit. Und als ich mich darnach umsah, wie klein, ein Kind noch, trat sie mir entgegen, angefeindet von tausend Zwiespältigkeiten, die eine

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Koessler, Toulouse 1943, p.265.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 220. Vol.VIII, p.64.

<sup>\*</sup> Hellenbach, Lazar, Freiherr von, österr. Sozialpolitiker und Philosoph. 1827-1887... In seiner philos. Anschauung ist er von Schopenhauer beeinflusst, entwickelte aber okkultische Anschauungen. (Der grosse Brockhaus, Leipzig 1931. Vol.VIII, p.369).

Idee. Und doch diese Menschheit, dieses zur Stunde bettelarme Kind, für sie streiten bis zur Stunde die edelsten Geister, und es ist doch eine schöne Idee, in dem streitbaren Regiment zu stehen, dessen Tochter sie ist, und getroffen im Streit das verscheidende Haupt in ihrem Schoss zu legen und zu sagen:

Behalte du mein Angedenken!

Keine Vergangenheit, keine Gegenwart - alles Zukunft!

Ja, leider - alles Zukunft - ihr wollt es selbst so!<sup>1</sup>

In Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld Anzengruber brings on to the stage a priest who is humanitarian in outlook, but who finds that as a priest he may not help all men. If some one commits suicide he is not permitted to bury the body with all Christian rites; if a Catholic wishes to marry a Protestant he should oppose the match, not try to help the couple. Anzengruber attacked a 'Christian' system of morals such as this. Through Franz in Der Meineidbauer, Steinklopferhanns in Die Kreuzelschreiber and Märchen Anzengruber condemns existing moral principles and tries to evolve others.

In a series of fragments entitled Die Nutzniesser des Glaubenszwanges Anzengruber writes,

'Gebt Gewissensfreiheit, betrachtet keinen Ungläubigen wie einen Schuft, der aus Bosheit nicht glaubt, wo er es doch nicht kann, und denkt nicht: ohne Glaube keine Moral, die Moral ist nicht identisch mit der Religion, letztere war manchmal Beförderungsmittel, öfters aber Schädigerin derselben'.<sup>2</sup>

He declares in his Notaten zu einer Vorlesung über das Sittengesetz:

'Religion und Sitte - Atheismus und Sitte. Religion hat nichts damit zu tun. Ein Geschlecht, dessen Opfer kein Auge sieht im weiten All, doch pflichtgetreu. Das Sittengesetz ist ethisch, sonst würde man nicht ein edles Beispiel nachahmen, ohne ein weiteres Motiv, ohne weiteren Nutzen, als dass es uns gefällt, befriedigt - man sagt instinktiv richtig - eine schöne Handlung. ... Das Sittlichkeitsgefühl existiert so gut, als unsere Gehirnatome existieren'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bis zum Fertigwerden. Vol.I, p.236.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 35. Vol.XV/II, p.44.

<sup>3</sup> Notaten. Vol. p.



Anzengruber, who had made his own way, set great store by independence and thought that men should be more independent than they were and more conscious of their responsibilities. He had called the Christian religion the most immoral - 'Sie wälzt die Verantwortlichkeit des Menschen von diesem ab und dem Erlöser zu'.<sup>1</sup> Rommel says in his notes on Eisgärtel:

'Ganz im Sinne Feuerbachs sieht Anzengruber den Schwerpunkt seiner Aufgabe nicht in dem (negativen) Kampf gegen das Dogma, sondern im (positiven) Aufbau einer autonomen, von Gottes- und Jenseitsfurcht freien, unbeirrt auf das Wohl der Menschheit gerichteten Sittlichkeit, welche das Erdenleben nicht mehr als Vorbereitung auf ein jenseitiges, sondern als Selbstzweck betrachtet.

'„Immer am Platz das Rechte tun, komme dann, was wolle!  
Es scheint trutzig, ist aber doch fromm!“'<sup>2</sup>

Conscience, Anzengruber planned, was to guide men - since egoism had been overcome and certain religious teaching 'outgrown'. That would be when men's reasoning powers developed, he was confident. Anzengruber makes Franz in Der Meineidbauer say that his father would have fared better, had he acted as an autonomous being and been 'less pious, more honest'. The old grandmother in Das vierte Gebot and Ehrberger in Ein Geschworener reflect the social conscience. Hell, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, the Schön family in Das vierte Gebot, Thomas in Heimgfunden, Bergauer in Der Faustschlag, Amalie and Lorenz in Brave Leut vom Grund and Kernhofer in Alte Wiener Anzengruber devises as examples of people who follow their conscience freely and love their neighbours. It would appear that Anzengruber wanted to impress on his readers that they ought to seek not so much to be happy as to fulfil what conscience demands.

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 152. Vol.VIII, p.42.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on Eisgärtel by Dr.Otto Rommel. Vol.XV/II, p.350. Fragment 40. V. 'Das Leben ohne Gottes- und Unsterblichkeitsfurcht'. Vol.XV/II, p.46 ('Es' is 'Er' in Anzengruber's version).

Anzengruber defines conscience variously as a natural moral instinct, a sense of proportion, a sense of responsibility, an instinctive recognition of what is ideal, 'das Gefühl des Edlen und Schönen'.<sup>1</sup> In some of Anzengruber's characters, however, conscience and moral standards seem under developed - for example in Philippine the prostitute in the short story Der Christabend einer Leichtfertigen, in Hubmayr in the play Der Fleck auf der Ehr and in Helene in the novel Der Sternsteinhof. But Anzengruber says that when the Philippines receive a better education, when the Hubmayrs are taught to be responsible citizens, when the Helenes cease to be so poor that they are driven to improve their lot if they can by fair means or foul, they will be able to develop into good citizens. The rule of conscience must prevail, since it forms part of the foundations of Anzengruber's vision of a new society.

In his life without God the family of the future, like the newly organised society he envisaged, to be based on kind, loving, generous, conscientious hearts. Everyone was to be free to marry and found a family if he wished to, because Anzengruber maintained it was unnatural and wrong to demand that men or women renounce family life. If the Church or parents such as Nagelschmied- Helen's and "das Sündkind"'s mother force sons and daughters to give up earthly love, Anzengruber insists in his works that those who are compelled to do so become unhappy. The Church and parents do not always know best, Anzengruber suggests, in Der ledige Hof and Das vierte Gebot and he

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorisms 369 and 375. Vol.VIII, p.108 and p.111. (See also the chapter on Anzengruber's Weltanschauung, pp. ).

encourages children to live their own lives, to choose their own careers and marry the one they want to. He tries to make married women more independent too, raising the question of a married woman's rights in the play Elfriede. Anzengruber makes propaganda for divorce by appealing to the extreme cases in which the marriage-partner is cruel, criminal or depraved. He supplies a character to fit each epithet: Oehrlein in Die Tochter des Wucherers, Görg Friedner in Hand und Herz and Stolzenthaler in Das vierte Gebot. In his 'Leben ohne Gott' responsibility would rest more with the two individuals to build up a successful marriage or else to part, making the best possible arrangements for any children of the marriage. Morally mature people, he decided, would neither marry for money, position or to please their parents, nor abstain from marriage in deference to the requirements of an institution. The family forms an essential part of Anzengruber's new society. He always rated education highly and saw the family<sup>1</sup> as a potential miniature reflection of his ideal society, once the parents reached the standard of education which he considered necessary for the perfect inhabitants of his perfect society which he could, to his sorrow glimpse only in the distant future.

As we note in other chapters, too, the main problem of social organisation is that people are divided into two sharply contrasting masses (as different in outlook as East and West) - the rich and the poor. Anzengruber usually presents the rich as religious, or at least closely connected to the Church, while the poor find that even

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Anzengruber's Weltanschauung, pp. 249-251.

in Church they are made to feel the gulf between rich and poor. In the village church the rich farmers wear fine clothes, use richly bound books and sit in special pews near the altar.<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber infers that the rich use religion - the idea of a divinely ordained social order - to keep power and wealth in their own hands. Frequently Anzengruber expresses the opinion that religious influence acts as a curb restraining the poor who would otherwise rebel. Because society is unfairly divided into the privileged rich and exploited poor, the whole social atmosphere is strained. When Zangl in Doppelselbstmord asks Hauderer whether he believes that God exists, Hauderer replies

'Für d' Reichen mag wohl sein.... Aber was verstehts ös, ös habts nie ghungert, nie Not und Gfrier ausgestanden, eng nie krump und bucklet g'arbeit, um nix und wieder nix, als dass sich's Elend anstückelt von Tag zu Tag und von Jahr zu Jahr - was's wölln habts, habts ghabt'.<sup>2</sup>

Koessler comments: 'L'ironie de ce court passage montre combien critique religieuse et critique sociale sont intimement liées dans la pensée d'Anzengruber: le complice des riches? ... c'est Dieu'.<sup>3</sup> The rich uphold the corrupt social order, Anzengruber says, because they find it advantageous, and the clergy also protect it - for the same reason. Koessler goes on to say that according to Anzengruber the rich have compromised the reputation and even the existence of God. The origin of wealth is not divine - the idea of justice opposes it. The origin of wealth is human and it is burdened with guilt.

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<sup>1</sup> See the short story Das Wünschen etc.

<sup>2</sup> Doppelselbstmord, Act I, sc.4. Vol.IV, p.187.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Loessler, Toulouse 1943, p.310.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 33. Vol.XV/II, pp.40-41.

The usurer, Oehrlein, in Die Tochter des Wucherers and Parnegger the speculator in Ein Geschworener are just two of the characters in Anzengruber's works who cause others to suffer, because they are corrupted by money. 'Der Meineidbauer, Matthias Ferner, and Flori Traidmann, 'Ein Mann den Gott liebt' measure God's favour by the amount of wealth they amass. Anzengruber is concerned about the bad effect which money may have on individuals, just as he is concerned with the injustice of social conditions in which some have too much and others barely enough to live on. 'Car en dernière analyse toute responsabilité retombe sur la société, cette infâme prostituée que les riches font respecter, que les prêtres protègent. Combien "une vie sans Dieu" serait plus sainte".<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber anticipates a time when men will cease to accept the suggestion that God meant ~~some~~ to have so much more than others, cease also to expect God to help them if they are starving and forced to see how the rich live in luxury.

But there remains the problem of human nature, even after God has been denied. The main human weakness which men must combat is egoism, Anzengruber frequently reiterates. He laments that men cannot yet grasp what humanism means. Some are not morally stable, others do not act as they should, because they have to think of how they can contrive to live at all. Anzengruber hopes that men will learn to reason clearly, act justly and live good lives - without God. Social conditions will then, he says, inevitably improve and in time the golden era he longs for will evolve. In his Notaten zu einer Vorlesung über das Sittengesetz he writes,

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Anzengruber by Louis Koessler, Toulouse 1943, p.7.

'Die Bildung schreitet so langsam vor - diese und jene Idee, sie war vor Jahrhunderten - ~~Vor~~ Jahrtausenden!

'Ja, aber da rührte nur die eine etliche - jetzt erst, wo die Bildung ausgebreiteter wird, jetzt befruchtet ein Gedanke Millionen Köpfe. - Und darum nennen wir den Fortschritt einen rascheren. Und so wird auch immer mehr dieses Gefühl der Schönheit der Lebensführung sich ausbreiten, dass es zuletzt - auch Religion, Staat und Gesellschaft, wie wir das ~~jetzt~~ denken, auf das unerwartetste verwandeln kann und sich selbst gewaltig, unahnbar entfalten'.<sup>1</sup>

As we shall see in the course of the following chapters, Anzengruber's writings present a sorry picture of existing social evils and contrast these with the ideal conditions he would like to see prevailing. He writes of a new era in which men will be godlike, God outgrown. When he discusses crime he blames the Church for teaching the forgiveness of sins and divine judgment after death; when he talks of the problems of love and marriage he declares that these are complicated, because the Church will not recognise divorce; when he mentions the townspeople he says that the Church is old-fashioned and unable to deal with modern problems; when he writes about the peasants he says that the Church has kept them back, so that they have remained ignorant and superstitious. In his new society men will see justice done in this world, since 'Nichts ist hienieden als hienieden, wo anderswo greift nichts ein'.<sup>2</sup> Divorce will be accepted and yet marriages, Anzengruber thinks, will be secure and happy, for conscience, reason and love will guide men. The old system of control which so long impeded men's progress will pass, leaving men free to set to work to solve modern problems. They will cast it aside like an old tight garment and cease to be superstitious,

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<sup>1</sup> Notaten zu einer Vorlesung über das Sittengesetz. Vol.XV/II, p.50.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 290. Vol.VIII, p.84.



fearful, over-dependent, will cease to expect what is due to them in an after-life which self-seeking people have promised them. They will wait no longer, but work instead to make this life on earth their paradise where they will be happy without God, for Anzengruber wants them to be humanistic in outlook, not Christian, nor, on the other hand, materialistic. He imagines that perfect social conditions will produce perfect men.

Anzengruber's views fail to satisfy modern critics of optimistic humanism, such as Reinhold Niebuhr and A.D. Ritchie. All that he visualises depends on the perfectibility of man and progress, 'a blessed word' in the nineteenth century. Reinhold Niebuhr discusses progress in his book The Nature and Destiny of Man:

'A further consequence of modern optimism is a philosophy of history expressed in the idea of progress. Either by a force immanent in nature itself, or by the gradual extension of rationality, or by the elimination of specific sources of evil, such as priesthoods, tyrannical government and class divisions in society, modern man expects to move toward some kind of perfect society. The idea of progress is compounded of many elements. It is particularly important to consider one element of which modern culture is itself completely oblivious. The idea of progress is possible only upon the ground of a Christian culture'.<sup>1</sup>

As far as Anzengruber agrees with those who say 'in one form or other, that the purpose of each individual human life is to strive to benefit the whole of humanity'<sup>2</sup>, A.D. Ritchie would criticise him.

'Treated in such a way, Humanity is a metaphysical entity playing the part more usually played by God in religion.... I suspect that Humanity is only the old tribal god in modern dress and swollen to such dimensions that he is not easily recognised'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Nature and Destiny of Man by Reinhold Niebuhr, London 1941, p.25.

<sup>2</sup>&<sup>3</sup> Civilisation, Science and Religion by A.D. Ritchie, London 1945, pp.97-98.

G.K. Chesterton defends Christian doctrine against humanists who attack it, because they say they cannot reasonably be expected to believe in it.

'Even in the days of my youth I remarked that there was something slightly odd about despising and dismissing the doctrine of the Trinity as a mystical and even maniacal contradiction; and then asking us to adore a deity who is a hundred million persons in one God, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance'.<sup>1</sup>

Ritchie points out another difficulty: 'how we discover what it is that benefits humanity?'.<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber assumes that he knows what will benefit humanity. He claims that human love and human reason will solve the social problems which beset mankind. As Niebuhr says of Spinoza, 'He fails to understand, of course, that human egotism is something more than the natural impulse of every organism "to preserve its own existence", that it has a power which defies both nature and reason'.<sup>3</sup> Anzengruber, like the 'Aufklärer', attached too much importance to reason.

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<sup>1</sup> The Everlasting Man by G.K. Chesterton, London. p.90.

<sup>2</sup> Civilisation, Science and Religion by A.D. Ritchie, London 1945, p.98.

<sup>3</sup> The Nature and Destiny of Man by Reinhold Niebuhr, London 1941, p.123.

CHAPTER TWO.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

Anzengruber's approach to crime and punishment, to the Law and the administration of justice was much affected by the years which he spent as a copyist of police records and by his friendship with his cousin's husband, Ferdinand von Holzinger, a well-known judge. The years 1869 to 1871 and his life long association with von Holzinger afforded Anzengruber excellent opportunities of observing the case histories, judgment and treatment of criminals. That he turned such knowledge to account can be seen in several short stories - above all in Unter schwerer Anklage and Der Verschollene which Bettelheim<sup>1</sup> compares not unfavourably with works of Poe and Conan Doyle - and in the play Der Fleck auf der Ehr.

With his usual comprehensive method of approach Anzengruber treats of crime and punishment in their religious, legal, social, individual and moral aspects. He knows of the biases and prejudices, the bribery and corruption in courts of law, about reversals of judgment (Unrecht Gut), innocent prisoners (Der Fleck auf der Ehr), corrupt judges (Ein Geschworener), legal sharks (Das Weidenweiblein) and many other flaws in the administration of justice.

Of Holzinger Bettelheim tells us, 'Holzinger war Gegnern und Parteigängern jahrzehntelang wie die leibhaftige Verkörperung unseres rückständigen, zumal in politischen Delikten erbarmungslosen Strafgesetzes erschienen.'<sup>2</sup> He committed suicide eleven years after Anzengruber's death, because doctors had foretold that he would become blind.

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<sup>1</sup> Neue Gänge mit Ludwig Anzengruber by Anton Bettelheim, Wien 1919, p.166

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.229.

Journalists and hostile colleagues tried to insinuate that there were other reasons for the death of 'dieses meistgenannten, meistbeschäftigten, meistgefürchteten Strafrichters.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber himself did not always approve of the harsh penalties exacted for religious and political crimes and the possibility of unjust sentences greatly perturbed him.

Justice and religion have for centuries been interwoven. But Anzengruber's attitude to religion resembles Lessing's in his Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes, where the latter suggests that the next step to be taken is for men to love what is good and right without considering rewards - material or spiritual. Anzengruber is a disciple of the 18th century teacher, for he too wants men to love justice and truth for themselves so that they may walk without the leading reins of religion.

Men often endeavour to reinstate themselves in God's good favour, while at the same time making no effort to pay their debt and fulfil their responsibility to their fellowmen. Fragment 564 sums up the attitude of many, 'Na, woasst, kimmt a Schlechtigkeit auf, so is's a Vabrechen und mer wird engsperrt; bleibt's aber verschwiegen, so is's a Sünd, und die lasst mer sich vom lieben Herrgott verzeihn!'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber, true to his conviction that orthodox religion does humanity more harm than good, strikes once more at the practice of religious

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<sup>1</sup> Neue Gänge, p.229.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 564, Vol.I, p.553.

interference. Men commit crimes to the detriment of other men and therefore men alone must judge and punish. Whether a crime is a sin is of secondary importance. Anzengruber is impatient, too, of the conservative religious insistence on a divinely ordained order of society and approval of the status quo. Man is responsible to man and cannot be absolved of a crime simply by confessing to a priest.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand until men have attained to the necessary level of independence and good sense priests will have to continue their efforts to control the masses.

Several ugly <sup>scenes in which characters confuse</sup> instances of confusion between religion and true justice occur in Anzengruber's play Der Meineidbauer and in Fragment 176. In the play Ferner, who has committed perjury and mishandled his niece and nephew, hopes for absolution at the hands of his son whom he destines to become a priest. The young couple in the fragment commit murder in order to inherit property and think that if they go on a pilgrimage it will atone for their crime. According to Anzengruber selfishness and moral corruptness and a sense of justice clouded and confused by warped religious persuasions lead them all to destruction. Their consciences have been lulled to sleep.

Anzengruber set great store by conscience. He conceived of it not as the still small voice of the Almighty but as a feeling of disharmony - a disturbance of inner balance. He believed in an abiding, universal, moral law of which every man is instinctively aware. The

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<sup>1</sup> The church never claims to absolve crimes.



power which conscience exerts is shown in the play Der Gewissenswurm. An unscrupulous religious hypocrite, Dusterer, turns conscience into a destructive force, preying upon the mind of his victim and sapping his strength to such an extent that Dusterer almost succeeds in a subtle, second degree murder. Until everyone is guided by conscience, however, people cannot see a state of ideal justice - 'denn so lang auf der Welt die Menschen nur einer gegen den andern ihr Recht suchen, nie aber nach der Gerechtigkeit in ihnen selber fragen werden, so lang hat auch der Arme nur einen Rechtsanwalt.'<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of the priest in Der Fleck auf der Ehr who gesticulates towards the heavens as he speaks.

Retribution is not unfailing on earth. Pursuing vengeance may not overtake an evildoer in this world, and so, to excuse the existing shortcomings of human justice, another world has to be imagined where all injustices perpetrated in this world will be fittingly punished. That is Abzengruber's explanation of how heavenly justice came into existence. As long as the notion of divine justice is accepted Abzengruber fears that men will not exert themselves to the utmost to evolve a more just system of punishment and a more perfect code of laws.

In Eine Begegnung Martl tries to 'justify the ways of God to Man.' Martl himself bears all his trials patiently: the trickery of his younger brother Görg, who captures the affections of his betrothed and deprives him of most of his land in a lawsuit, and the subsequent death of his wife and only son.<sup>2</sup> People had at first made much ado

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<sup>1</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act III, sc.4 b. Vol.II, p.287.

<sup>2</sup> Eine Begegnung, Vol.XI, p.119.

about Görg's treatment of his brother. Then they turned against the unfortunate Martl who could not understand 'warum unser Herrgott den Görg so verhätschelt und mich in den Winkel stellt.'<sup>1</sup> When Görg tells him, however, what he would have done in Martl's place the latter fancies he sees God's purpose. In order to save Görg from committing murder and arson he had given him all he wanted. 'Ja, ja, mein lieber Herr, es scheint völlig, Gott nimmt das Glück der guten Menschen und legt es den schlechten zu, damit die weniger Ursach haben, arg zu sein.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus Martl finds consolation in religion, accepting his lot of self-abasement, self-denial and resignation - but justice is not done.

Another martyr to justice is 'Die fromme Kathrin', whose sister, Ploni, lures her fiancé away. Kathrin intercepts the axe-blow which an irate father aims at his sinning daughter and when she recovers has to give up her dowry as well as her betrothed, so that Ploni may be 'made an honest woman'. She does find a good husband, however, and has children but they die. Her husband's relatives turn her out. She explains, 'Testament hat er keins hinterlassen, werhätt's auch gedacht, dass eines nötig wäre? Da sind die Gerichtsleute gekommen, haben gesagt, ein Weib erbt nicht nach dem Manne, die Verwandten haben mich aus der Hütte getrieben, und seitdem sitz ich da heroben im „Armen-Leut-Haus\".'<sup>2</sup> And yet she is quite content with her past life and present fate. To her 'fromm' means 'friedsam', but her peaceable

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<sup>1</sup> Eine Begegnung, Vol.XI, pp.120-121.

<sup>2</sup> Die fromme Kathrin, Vol.XI, p.181.

resignation is no less reprehensible than Martl's, for neither makes any effort to obtain redress of their grievances and so injustice continues unopposed.

There are, however, other characters such as Burgerlies in Der Meineidbauer and Steinklopferhanns in Die Kreuzelschreiber and Märchen and Rohrhofer in Unrecht Gut who stand aside from the community as a protest against its beliefs, order and injustice. Burgerlies stops going to church and cuts herself off from the other villagers who in their turn shun her. She is not disposed to bear injustice as God's way of testing her faith and worth, nor to submit meekly to a state of society in which gross injustice and cruelty are tolerated. Man's system of laws knows neither truth nor justice and God too, she thinks, has failed her.

'Sixt, Vronerl, und damals, wie der Meineidbauer sein Hand hat zu Gott aufgehoben, nur dass ihm die gstudierten Leut seines Bruders Hab und Gut zusprechen, da is kein Donner vom Himmel gfalln, die Erd hat sich nit auftan, mein Kind is in Not und Unehr dagstanden und a so verstorben - und der Meineidbauer is heuttags noch a reicher Mann. Seither war's fertig in mir! Dö Welt taugt mir nit, wo so was drin gschehn kann. Seit damäl heissen s'mich gottlos.<sup>1</sup>

Rohrhofer in Unrecht Gut is an ordinary peasant farmer who is as obstinate as Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas in his defence of his ideas of justice. Rohrhofer had bought two-thirds of the farmland of his friend Hausleithner. The land was bought at a very reasonable price and Hausleithner had to continue to pay taxes on the entire estate, for no

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act I, sc.9, Vol.III, p.34.



lawyer had been called to witness the sale in order to save expence.

'Der Handel sei gegen bar geschlossen und durch Handschlag bekräftigt worden.'<sup>1</sup> Ten years after the sale Hausleithner dies. Trouble begins when the latter's son and daughter put up their father's farm for auction. Although the court of law decides against him Rohrhofer declares like Ludwig's Erbförster, 'Ich bin in meinem Recht und will's behaupten.'<sup>2</sup>

After serving a prison sentence Rohrhofer, once more like the forester in Ludwig's play, discusses matters with the priest. The gist of the priest's point of view is given in Luther's letter to Kohlhaas:

'Nehmt Friede an. wo er Euch werden kann, leidet lieber an Gut und Ehre Schaden, denn dass Ihr Euch weiter sollt begeben in solch Fürnehmen... Setzet Euch zufrieden, Gott zu Ehren, und lasset Euch Euren Schaden von Gott zugefügt sein und verbeisset's um seinetwillen.'<sup>3</sup>

A fitting retort to this advice occurs in Der Erbförster. Förster to Pastor:

'Also recht ist's nicht? Und wenn's nicht recht ist, so muss es unrecht sein. Und dazu sind die Gerichte da auf der Welt, dass Unrecht nicht geschehen soll... Alles andere kann zum Teufel gehn, Herr; aber Recht, Herr, Recht muss Recht bleiben!'<sup>4</sup>

Rohrhofer expresses himself thus:

'Sie (die Obrigkeit) is doch dafür da, zu sorgen, dass Recht unter Menschen auch Recht verbleibt, und das meine is klar. Wenn das, was ich gekauft und bezahlt hab, nimmer als mein Eigentum gelten soll, dann fällt die Welt aus einander, und die Menschen fressen sich gegenseits auf, wozu ihnen der Teuxel wohl gern, gsegnete Mahlzeit' wünschen möcht! Recht muss gelten.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Unrecht Gut. Vol.XII, p.291.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwigs Leben und Werke hrsg. von Dr. Viktor Schweizer. Leipzig und Wien. Bd.I, p.47.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced in the introduction to Michael Kohlhaas, adapted and edited by F.W. Wilson. London, 1937, p.xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> as note 2, pp.51-52.

<sup>5</sup> Unrecht Gut, Vol.XII, p.352.

In Unrecht Gut Anzengruber shows us an individual grimly holding on to his conception of justice in the face of society's opposition and religious and legal persuasion and coercion. Rohrhofer hangs himself in defiant despair before the official pardon arrives.

Steinklopferhanns urges the need for love, understanding and sympathy in dealing with wrongdoers. He relies on good sense and his 'extraige Offenbarung' in his lone crusade against social coercion and injustice. Hanns is, however, more kindly disposed to his fellow-creatures than is Burgerlies. In the epilogue to Die Versuchung we hear him expounding the idea that crime is a sickness - an idea reminiscent of Samuel Butler's Erewhon. In Märchen III the young miller's wife and apprentice who have killed the miller are abused by the other villagers mercilessly. Hanns reminds them that they were forbidden to judge others lest they themselves be judged.

'Die Müllerin und der Knecht, dös sein verlorene Leut, lassts dö Richter mit dö fertig werd'n, sein wir froh, dass wir froh sein könn'n, aber überhebn mer uns net! Freun mer uns, dass wir gsund sein, sorgn wir allfort für die Gsundheit von Leib und Seel, aber vergessen wir nöt, dass doch unser jeden ein Übel anfalln kann, und sollt uns vor ein Siechtum auch grausen, so dürfn mer doch mit dö Kranken a Barmherzigkeit habn.'<sup>1</sup>

In Aphorism 467, too, Anzengruber calls criminals sick people and discusses what punishment should be meted out to them. Anzengruber appears to be specially interested in criminals, for they form a fairly large proportion of the characters in his plays and stories. As a keen psychologist he investigates the question: 'wie er dazu geworden.' To a great extent this entails a study of milieu, which

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<sup>1</sup> Die Versuchung, Vol.XIV, p.81.

in its turn depends upon the structure of the society which inflicts the penalty on criminals; and therefore, as Anzengruber is quick to point out, a corrupt society punishes individuals for faults caused by its own shortcomings:

'Die Personen und Dinge gehen schneller oder langsamer der Zersetzung entgegen. Manchmal geradezu wirken bei Naturen und Dingen die Gegensätze explosiv. Verbrechen, Selbstmord -. Plötzliche Bedeutungslosigkeit. Manchmal verliert ein Charakter, edel angelegt, in den zersetzenden Verhältnissen nach und nach erst allen Halt, edle Charaktere und Institutionen brechen faul in sich zusammen.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber regards even the accusations lodged by the worst and most despicable criminals against society as substantially valid indictments. Even his worst criminals and most despicable characters may accuse the society in which they live. Görg Friedner in Hand und Herz, who is a drunkard, a thief and a wastrel could be called a disappointed idealist in a community which rates money more highly than any moral virtue. He and Jakob in Der Meineidbauer have succumbed to evil example. Jakob, seeing his uncle unpunished and prosperous, falls into bad ways. He confesses to his sister shortly before he dies,

'Ich wär nit schlecht wordn, Vroni, hätt nit gsehn wie der Kreuzweghof is reich und angsehn gwesn dabei; - mein ganz Leben voll Not und Schand - war rein unnötig - .'<sup>2</sup>

In Die Heimkehr Tritz-Poldl seeks to dispense justice, when he sees that the law does not punish heartless seducers severely enough.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 85 Zersetzt (Drama), Vol.I, p.368.

<sup>2</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act I, sc.10, Vol.III, p.40.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter on Problems of Love and Marriage.



He has to serve a heavy sentence for killing Scheibner-Franz but he feels that justice has been done in one instance.

Hoisel-Loisl in the tale of the same name and Hubmayr in Der Fleck auf der Ehr observe that prison conditions are preferable to the life of many honest hardworking labourers whom unemployment dogs so that they, too, have grounds to complain about the organisation of society.

Anzengruber tries to arouse more sympathy for and humanitarian treatment of criminals. Prison conditions for instance had greatly improved since the last century but an ex-convict still met with narrow-minded persecution. Two murderers are shown to be essentially fine characters - Paul Weller and Tritz-Poldl in Hand und Herz and Die Heimkehr. Einsam and Martin Schalanter in Stahl und Stein and Das vierte Gebot would have become estimable men if they had been brought up under the discipline of a decent family life. In the former pair a bewildered sense of justice which can find no other satisfaction prompts the murders and in the latter uncontrolled fiery temper occasions disaster. Einsam defends his mother's and uncle's honour and then finds out that neither has any reputation to uphold.

'Ös könnt's eng nit vorstell'n, wie mir da gwesen is, wie ich eingesehn hab, dass ich ja jeds Wort hätt einstecken müssen, weil's bittere Wahrheit war, dass ich da a Ehr hab wahren woll'n, wo d'nackete Schand an all'n Enden fürgschaut hat, dass koan Körndl Recht und koan Stäuberl Vernunft bei mein'm Tun war und ich oan Menschen ganz für nix und wider nix umgebracht hätt.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Stahl und Stein, Act III, sc.2. Vol.III, p.261.

Einsam also feels that his crime separates him from his true self and from society. Franz Ferner in Der Meineidbauer and Martin Schalanter in Das vierte Gebot experience the same sensations. Franz's implication in his father's crime has deprived him of a carefree youth and made him shy of men. 'Ich habe meinen Menschen verloren', he complains.<sup>1</sup> In the second last scene of Das vierte Gebot Martin Schalanter prepares to die with the words:

'Es geschieht mir ja recht - und es ist jedenfalls gscheiter, wie noch länger als Auswürfling unter dö Menschen herumlaufen. Ich komm mir vor wie a wilds Tier, das nachträglich zu einer menschlichen Bsinnung kommen is.'<sup>2</sup>

Passion, money and superstition are shown in connection with murder in such plays and stories as Hand und Herz, Die Kameradin (the tale of Sennfelder Jakob who kills his rival in love), Unter schwerer Anklage in which a man is murdered and robbed of his lottery winnings, Die Tochter des Wucherers where murder is indirect, and Die Körbelflechter Kathrein which relates how Brunnlechner kills Kathrein in superstitious fear and self-defence, believing her to be a witch. In his ignorance of modern law he reverts to the primitive 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'. He is illiterate and ruled by the dictates of nature and folk tradition.

'Früher hat man so eine, wie die Körbelflechter Kathrein war, nur anzeigen gebraucht, und sie is verbrannt worden.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act II, sc.3. Vol.III, p.55.

<sup>2</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act IV, sc.4. Vol.V, p.232.

<sup>3</sup> Die Körbelflechter-Kathrein, Vol.XII, p.549.

Anzengruber even considers the effect of such an occupation as a butcher's upon the crime of murder in Der Verschollene and Stahl und Stein where Alois Kerneder and Einsam are both butcher's apprentices. Perhaps the difference between these two, who both commit murder, makes him consider how unfair the law is to judge men's lives of equal value. Weller in Hand und Herz ironically expresses the hope that the ne'er-do-well will weigh as heavy as an honest man. Two illustrations in Fragments 67 and 68 support this point:

'Er hat den Geizhals, Mädchenverderber und Weibermisshändler erschlagen...

"Ich berühm mich, a gute Tat getan zu haben..."<sup>1</sup>

And in Fragment 68 a character is conceived, 'Der den Schuft erschlug - mit dem Bewusstsein, recht getan zu haben.'<sup>2</sup>

Despite the heinousness of murder, Anzengruber considers it more excusable than theft.

'Wo aber das Verbrechen niederer Leidenschaft entspringt, dem Zwange gesellschaftlichen Lebens - Diebstahl, Betrug - vor all den Bedenken zagt, sie zu umgehen, umschleichen versucht, da wird es nicht der Tigersprung nach der Beute, da wird es das wölfische Beschleichen derselben. Widerlich! Das Verbrechen kultiviert, das Brotverbrechen! Nur in Grossstädten.'<sup>3</sup>

Pickpockets, defrauders, embezzlers, blackmailers, housebreakers, habitual thieves and robbers are all mentioned in Anzengruber's works - even smugglers appear in Der Weineidbauer and are resolutely defended by Burgerlies. She hides them when they are being pursued, because

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 67, Recht. Bauernstück. Vol.I, p.355.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 68, Dramatischer Charakter. Vol.I, p.355.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 397. Vol.VIII, p.119.

they are neither thieves nor robbers, since hill and dale have endured from time immemorial and the boundary stakes have not grown up out of the earth like trees.

Unequal division of wealth is the prime cause of theft. Anzengruber does not go so far as to support the claim that 'property is theft'.<sup>1</sup> Hubmayr in Der Fleck auf der Ehr explains his position to the Ochsenwirt in the following extract:

'Wann mer so ganz leer dasteht und sieht, der oane hat dös und der andere das - lauter Sachen, wonach oam's Maul wassert und der Arm lang wird - und geschenkt gibt dir koaner 's Seine ... was willst denn machen?'<sup>2</sup>

That was the problem which the lazy Domini in Für d'Katz and 'Diebs-Annerl' had to face, too. Annerl had grown up with greedy, discontented parents and thus developed the habit of taking what she wanted. When she has a child to bring up by herself she is forced of necessity to steal. All the help she receives from the mayor is in the form of a long harangue, but she does find some work and then gets married. She yields once more to temptation by stealing the priest's snuff-box. Her husband in despair takes the child away from her. After this incident she resolves for the sake of her child to overcome her habitual thieving and win the other villagers' respect.

Emil Krautschneider in Schlusskapitel eines Romans, weak, effeminate and extravagant, cannot resist the urge to defraud or embezzle, although it costs him the love of his wife and eventually

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<sup>1</sup> Proudhon, Principle of Right, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Vol.II, p.189.

causes her death. His excuse is that no one will employ him after he has served a prison sentence. Another swindler is Oehrlein, a Jew, who has discovered a particularly mean way of making money. His daughter, Mathilde, is his decoy. She becomes engaged to a young man who is encouraged to give her fine presents and to borrow from his future father-in-law. On the wedding day the bride refuses to go through with the ceremony. Her father confronts the unfortunate bridegroom, demanding payment of his debts. This deception has ruined several young men, some of whom have committed suicide. This play, Die Tochter des Wucherers, reveals the dangers of blatant usury and criticises the society which tolerates it.

Hoisel-Loisel in the story of the same name and Reichsbannerherr von Pittmann in Ein Faustschlag intend to make money through blackmail. Von Pittmann actually does betray his friend. Sebald Stöhrer in Die Wahl im Bösen begins his downward path with blackmail which leads on to murder and arson. Of the three crimes he considers blackmail the most despicable.

Anzengruber regards pickpockets as the meanest type of criminal. He expresses his contempt in the Pfingstbrief des Hofsängers Huber<sup>1</sup> and again in Brave Leut vom Grund.<sup>2</sup> The short tale Über die Freiheit des menschlichen Willens contains an enlightening discussion by the pick-pocket Höher-Peter, and Räum-aus-Ferdl, a burglar, of their crimes and punishments. Höher-Peter is asked to tell how he became a thief and

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<sup>1</sup> Wiener Luft, 1887, Nr.22, 28.Mai. Vol.XV/II, pp.299-301.

<sup>2</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund I Abteilung, i3. Vol.VI, pp.220-221.

he explains that he had wanted to take his girl friend out at Easter, but did not possess enough money. Anxious to prove the truth of assertions made in a pamphlet that men have no free will Ferdl concludes,

'Da hast es, die geringe Bildung is der Anlass, die Sekatur von dö Behörden is der eine Umstand, das ewige Einsperrn der andere, dass der Mensch nit von der Luft leben kann, wieder einer; da hast d'ganze Kette beinand, darum musst auch a Dieb bleiben wollen, ob d'magst oder nit.'<sup>1</sup>

Höher-Peter laughs Ferdl's beliefs to scorn saying,

'Warum sperrt man uns denn ein? Dö Paragraphen sein der Anlass, der Schandarm is ein Umstand, der Richter der andere und der Bschiesser is auch einer, da hasst wieder d'ganze Ketten fertig.'<sup>2</sup>

Höher-Peter finishes his speech with the words,

'Wann von einer Verkettung von Umständen herrührt, dass wir stehen müssen, so rührt halt auch von einer Verkettung von Umständen her, dass uns die andern einsperren müssen!'

Imprisonment is society's most common punishment, duelling used to be the individual's - especially to settle questions of honour among the upper classes. As a means of obtaining justice duelling was as fair as the trial of witches.

'Wie hübsch ist die Genugtuung durch den Zweikampf, zum Beispiel wenn einer, der einer Frau die Ehre nahm, dafür noch deren Mann das Leben nimmt,'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber exclaims in Aphorism 468. He protests in Aphorism 472<sup>4</sup> that the increase in the number of duels fought does not mean an

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<sup>1</sup> Über die Freiheit des menschlichen Willens, Vol.XIV, pp.372-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.373.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 468. Vol.VIII, p.139.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 472. Vol.VIII, p.140.



increase in feelings of honour but in distrust and dishonour. He refuses to distinguish between duelling to the death and murder. Fragment 66 is the plan of a play in which one man mistakenly suspects, challenges and kills another.<sup>1</sup> When the real culprit is revealed, the duellist-murderer collapses. In Die düstere Grabschrift Anton Selig, refused satisfaction by his sister's seducer, murders him.<sup>2</sup>

One of Anzengruber's most attractive characters, Robert Hegeling, in Die zürnende Diana is shot in a duel. Apart from the waste of a young, gifted artist in this story, we are reminded, too, of the fate of those who are dependent on the victims of duels. Many people like Instetten in Fontane's Effi Briest felt compelled to fight, because of convention. Wullersdorf declares to Instetten,

'Die Welt ist einmal wie sie ist, und die Dinge verlaufen nicht, wie wir wollen, sondern wie die andern wollen. Das mit dem, 'Gottesgericht', wie manche hochtrabend versichern, ist freilich Unsinn, nichts davon, umgekehrt, unser Ehrenkultus ist ein Götzendienst, aber wir müssen uns ihm unterwerfen, solange der Götze gilt.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber would probably have advised them to break such conventions, which distorted justice, wasted life and caused great distress.

Duels and suicides Anzengruber places at society's door. In Aphorism 763, Not, Selbstmord und Verbrechen, he maintains,

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 66. Vol.I, pp.354-355.

<sup>2</sup> Die düstere Grabschrift. Vol.XV/I, p.183.

<sup>3</sup> Effi Briest by Theodor Fontane, Stuttgart 1944, p.263.

'Alle, die sich aus Not den Tod geben, alle, welche dieselbe zu Verbrechen reizt, sind diesem Dasein gegenüber weder Überdrüssige noch Unzufriedene, sie sind nur Ankläger gegen die Art, wie wir uns dasselbe eingerichtet haben.'<sup>1</sup>

Or again in Aphorism 114 he suggests that

'Die Korrektur der verderbten Welt - sie ist in unserem Gehirn - steht jedem frei: Selbstmord.'<sup>2</sup>

Suicide may be heroic if a man refuses to live a life which does not come up to his high standards.<sup>3</sup> But in Wiener Luft for 7.March 1885 he disapproves of the overwrought younger generation who take their lives because of bad school reports or unrequited love.<sup>4</sup>

Society punishes with incarceration those wrongdoers who do not escape by death. From descriptions of prisons in works such as Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs. Frances Trollope and Vienne et la vie viennoise by Victor Tissot and from evidence given by some of Anzengruber's characters it is to be assumed that an Austrian prison was feared because of the bad reputation which adhered to those who had been imprisoned and not because of prison conditions. Nearly all prisoners had to work, spinning, making pipes, toys, hat-boxes and so on. Prison is warmly praised by 'Hoisel-Loisel' and by Hubmayr in Der Fleck auf der Ehr and Motl in Ein Geschworener. The latter calls Modereiner, a former member of the jury, to protest at the mildness of the jury's decision.

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 763, Vol.VIII, p.226.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 114. Vol.VIII, p.30.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 395. Vol.I, p.504.

<sup>4</sup> Wiener Luft, 1885, Nr.10, of 7.March. Vol.XV/II, pp.238-239.

'Denn, schau S', unsereins, was nimmer arbeiten kann, ich red nicht von Mächten - mögn hab ich all mein Lebtag net - aber was hat denn unsereins in der Freiheit? Schau S', stehlen mag man net, was bleibt ein also übrig?... A weng 'n lieben Gott lästern - er wird's net übelnehmen, er weiss ja, warum's geschieht, etwa noch a Latern einhaun, dass man halt versorgt is.... Denn das muss ich sagen seit's dö Eisen auch noch abgeschafft haben, gibt's nichts Schöneres, als 's Gefängnisleben!'<sup>1</sup>

Hoisel-Loisel has been convicted over and over again of 'Betteln, Vagabondage, Reversion, Falschmeldung, Wachebeleidigung, tätliche Wachebeleidigung, Widersetzlichkeit...'<sup>2</sup> As a young man he had received a sentence of ten years' imprisonment for robbery with violence and upon his release had still his three years' military training to serve. He was later unable to find employment, unskilled as he was, at a time when even trained workmen were unable to find work. He therefore tried always to receive a sentence long enough to tide him over the winter. Life was easier in the summer, for vagrants could sleep outside.

'No, ich merk, daß war Er ja gar nit ungern eingesperrt?' the mayor remarks.

'O du mein, wie S' nur da fragen können, Euer Gstreng! Freilich, das muss eins wissen, wie's da drin is! Die Pfleg, wann ein'm was fehlt, die rechtschaffene Behandlung, die regelmässige Kost, kurz die Ordnung halt, die Ordnung! Die hat unsereins ja gar mit herauf in der Freiheit, und wann nit die schlechte Gesellschaft wär, möcht einer niemals losgehen.'<sup>3</sup>

Hubmayr's approval is based on the same points.<sup>4</sup> He compares prison life with the lot of the farm labourer, much to the detriment of the latter.

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Geschworener, Act II, sc.5. Vol.VII, pp.301-302.

<sup>2</sup> Der Hoisel-Loisel. Vol.XI, p.354.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.355-356.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter on Anzengruber and the Peasants.

Mrs. Trollope describes the prison in the Leopoldstadt. She comments upon the well lighted, well aired, 'rigidly clean' rooms and upon the various handicrafts learned by the prisoners who are paid for any extra work they may complete. Silence is rigorously enforced. Two priests are attached to the establishment and there is a well organised school, too. Food is plain but quite plentiful.

'The moment a prisoner falls sick, he ceases altogether to be considered as a criminal and is treated with all the skill and attention found in the most liberally regulated hospital. His food is ordered by the physician as peremptorily as his drugs, and whether animal or vegetable, is of the very best quality...'<sup>1</sup>

For ordinary people and society in general, however, the stigma of imprisonment remains. Anzengruber is particularly concerned with people who, though innocent, are nevertheless mistakenly sentenced. His short story Wissen macht - Herzweh and the play based upon it, Der Fleck auf der Ehr, have this problem as the nucleus of their plot. As Dr. Sigismund Friedmann explains,

'Es handelt sich um die These der Rehabilitation, welche die österreichischen Gesetze für Verurteilte, deren Unschuld nachträglich ans Licht kommt, noch nicht festgesetzt hatten.'<sup>2</sup>

It has been suggested by reviewers and biographers of Anzengruber that these works were prompted by the case of Katharina Steiger who was convicted of a murder of which she was innocent. The theme is similar to that of O.F.Berg's Ein Wiener Dienstbote written in 1867, twenty-two years before Der Fleck auf der Ehr was performed. In Wissen macht Herzweh Pauli's death is due to the intolerance and prejudice of her

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<sup>1</sup> Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs. F. Trollope.

<sup>2</sup> Das deutsche Drama des 19ten Jahrhunderts in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dr. S. Friedmann, Leipzig 1903, p.195.

husband and uncle. They condemn her immediately when they learn that she had been in prison, accused of theft. Unable to prove her innocence, she drowns herself. Franzl takes the part of Pauli in the play. She is saved by an unlikely occurrence. She meets the funeral procession of her former employer who had repented of her hastiness in unjustly accusing Franzl of stealing a bracelet and had left instructions for the priest to preach a sermon, proclaiming her own guilt and Franzl's complete innocence. The <sup>arrest and</sup> conviction of poor Franzl may be explained in a statement made about Galsworthy's The Silver Box which concludes that the rich have an unquestionable though perhaps unconscious advantage over the poor - 'not because there is any intentional injustice anywhere: it is merely that the whole structure of society is unjust.'<sup>1</sup>

Immediate remedies are suggested by Hubmayr, a habitual thief, who had met Franzl in prison. He reveals her predicament to Christine. She had been sentenced on circumstantial evidence and, after it was discovered that she was innocent, quietly released.

'Zwegn ihr is nix kundgmacht wordn, eppa nit oaner zugsprochene Entschädigung, und dös war vielleicht's oanzige, was'n Leuten d'Augen öffnet, wann a'm Gmoanamt der Brief mit dö fünf Siegel einlanget und's Geld durt ausghändigd wurd... Was aber so ohne Aufsehn in der Welt vorgeht, findt selten bei'n Leuten a Einsehn! Die Moserin hat nix, worauf sa sich berufen kann, als ihr Gewissen.... Wann aber amal so a Aktenstoss mit Protokollen, Urteilschöpfungen und - woass der Teuxl - was noch alln über oan Menschen vollgschrieben wordn is, dann kriegt davon selber oans so a Tintenspritzerl für sein Lebzeit ab! „Gessen - gessen is

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<sup>1</sup> Modern English Literature 1798-1935 by A.J. Wyatt and Henry Clay. 2nd, ed, 1936, London, p.234.

s'doch!" wurden d'Leut sagn, und sie kanns koan'm verwehren, was er sich drüber für Gedanken machen will.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking for himself in Wissen macht - Herzweh Anzengruber does not demand that cannons should be fired or bells rung, but suggests,

'Die Schreiber im Gefängnisbureau und am Gerichtshofe könnte man doch niedersitzen heissen und flink ein Schriftstück schreiben lassen, das durch alle Zeitungen laufen müsste, das an dem Orte, wo der Unschuldige geboren, wo er verkehrt, an der Kirchtüre, an den Strassenecken anzukleben wäre, und die Herren Richter und Anwälte könnten sich versammeln und so feierlich, wie sie zur Verurteilung geschritten waren, nun auch an die Ehrlichsprechung gehen. Nicht? O doch. Auch das ist nur mehr eine Frage der Zeit, wenn ihr nicht wollen solltet, ihr Herren! Aber wenn ihr wolltet, so könntet ihr noch viele eure Wohltat erleben sehen und eure Gerechtigkeit loben hören!'<sup>2</sup>

The thought that many innocent people are sentenced to imprisonment and some even hanged aroused Anzengruber's indignation. Many are convicted of offences upon circumstantial evidence. Such evidence leads to the arrest of Peter Kirwinger in Unter schwerer Anklage. Peter is arrested, because his evidence fits in with the investigator's theory that the murder was an instance of robbery with violence. Unsuspecting and secure in his innocence Peter tells how he had quarrelled with his cousin Vincenz, and admits that he had been in need of money when Vincenz was murdered. The enthusiastic young magistrate, Dr. Haidenreich, pounces upon his prey after having played with the poor, bewildered crofter in a cruel cross-examination. To add to the formidable accumulation of evidence the carrier Zach claims to have been a witness of the crime. Kirwinger is beaten into submission and resigns himself to his fate.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act II, sc.15. Vol.II, pp.258-259.

<sup>2</sup> Wissen macht Herzweh. Vol.XII, pp.284-5.



'Meine gute, liebe Rosl', he says to his wife, 'wirst sehn, sie hängen mich doch auf oder sperrn mich auf Lebzeit ein. Die Herrn vom Gericht sein so streng, wann mer anders redt, wie sie sich's vordenken - und dass ich dir mur sag, die Gschicht is wild. Da is alls so austipfelt und so zsamngricht, dass das wenge, was ich ausszagn weiss, einer Lug gleichschaut, und was ein ~~anderer~~ lügt einer Wahrheit; dagegen komm ich nit auf!'<sup>1</sup>

And so the affair would probably have ended, had Rosl not been an obstinate woman. She insists on seeing Dr. Haidenreich and protests that her husband is willing to swear to his innocence before the altar. She is coldly informed that neither judge nor jury would believe him in the face of the evidence against him. Finally Rosl finds a lottery ticket on the body which proves that Vincenz Kallinger had been to town after his meeting with Peter and throws suspicion on to the carrier, Zach. Rosl's observation saves her husband from death and Dr. Haidenreich from doing an injustice or, as she euphemistically phrases it, 'making a mistake'. The police are anxious to keep the whole affair quiet and Rosl and Peter are only too glad to slip away to their own house without more ado.

Anzengruber inserts a remark towards the end of the tale.

'Wenn er (Haidenreich) nicht zu beschäftigt gewesen wäre, so würde es ihm vielleicht aufgefallen sein, wie unendlich dankbar Leute aus dem geringen Volke sich anstellen, wenn ihnen nur ihr Recht wird; ihresgleichen mochten eben lange Zeiten durchlebt haben, wo es ihnen vorenthalten wurde, oder sie gar keines besassen.'<sup>2</sup>

Besides imprisonment Anzengruber deals with two other forms of punishment in Aphorisms 464 and 466.

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<sup>1</sup> Unter schwerer Anklage. Vol.XII, p.92.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.99.

'Eigentlich haben wir gar nicht das Recht, den armen Mördern Leben um Leben abzufördern, wir übervorteilen sie gewiss oft dabei.<sup>1</sup>

He imagines cases in which the murdered person has been a worthless rogue whose death is no loss to society.<sup>2</sup> Another method of dealing with criminals is suggested in the second aphorism mentioned, headed Kastrationshof ... skurril: 'Du lebe fort - doch deines Geschlechtes soll uns keines mehr die Erde verhunzen.'<sup>3</sup>

In the end Anzengruber comes to the conclusion that there will always be criticising no matter what punishment is meted out or what treatment is prescribed, but that invariably the decision of the majority will have to be accepted as right and just, whether it derives from sentimental, economic or social motives.<sup>4</sup>

The newest example of judgment by the opinion of a majority was the system of trial by jury introduced into Austria in 1873. Anzengruber's interest in this and probably in the Offenheim case of 1875 led to his writing a play entitled Ein Geschworener. This play, completed in the autumn of 1876, could be termed a dramatised educational treatise, for its purpose is to describe the ideal juror. The system passed, as Kleinberg puts it, through many childhood ailments:

'Denn sowohl die Furcht vor der Rache der Vorurteilten an ihren Richtern als auch die (auf einem Zettel des Schriftekastens noch besonders gerügte) „Lüge der Geschworenen“, dass sie nämlich aus persönlichen Gründen „entgegen dem Angeklagten, der sich schuldig

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 464. Vol.VIII, p.138.

<sup>2</sup> See p.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 466. Vol.VIII, p.138.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 467. Vol.VIII, p.139.

bekannt, ein Nichtschuldig sprechen",<sup>1</sup> haben sich als Kinderkrankheiten der damals eben erst eingeführten Volksgerichte erwiesen.<sup>2</sup>

Kleinberg maintains that after fifty years' experience the defects of the jury system are

'im unzureichenden Verständnis für schwierige Fälle, in unbewussten Klassengefühlen und in der Mechanisierung eines gerade auf subjektiver Abwägung aufgebauten Rechtsverfahrens aufgezeigt.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber approved of trial by jury as a manifestation of the growing independence of the individual and because it afforded increased scope for man to shape his destiny. He insisted, however, that the system could be a success only if the members of the jury adopt the attitude of Ehrberger in Ein Geschworener and avoid the softness, selfishness and self-indulgence of the irresponsible Modereiner whose 'Wiener Gemütlichkeit' is so nearly his undoing. Pope's couplet from The Rape of the Lock:

'The hungry judges soon the sentence sign,  
And wretches hang that jurymen may dine'<sup>4</sup>

would be borne out by Modereiner who objects to hard benches and the lack of refreshments in a court room. Fear prevents him from pronouncing the wretches guilty, however, lest those who were sent to prison should nurse their grudge until they are released and then kill the jurors. Modereiner places his family and his business interests

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 457, Die Lüge der Geschworenen. Vol.VIII, p.136.

<sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> Ludwig Anzengruber by Alfred Kleinberg, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921, p.296.

<sup>4</sup> The Rape of the Lock by Alexander Pope, line 21.

before his social duties in the law-court. Ehrberger reminds Modereiner of the oath which jurymen have to take and points out that, if the balance of society and the laws for the protection of citizens are upset, everyone suffers. Every individual must give of his time and substance if he is to be justified in taking the privileges afforded by the law.

Ehrberger regards his office of juror as a serious and often inconvenient duty but one which is well worth while. He feels

'Ein klein bisschen Selbstgefühl, dass er als Bürger keine Null mehr im Staat ist, könnte schon jetzt ein jeder aus'm Schwurgerichtssaal mit sich nach Haus nehmen.'<sup>1</sup>

Modereiner and his young friend, Eder, are on the other hand typically Viennese - easy-going but tenacious of the old institutions and practices and suspicious of the new. Fundamentally they are kind-hearted and, once shaken out of their lazy indifference and selfishness, they set about doing their ineffectual best to escape from the clutches of the rascally money-lender, Pernegger. Pernegger has been on trial for extorting exorbitant rates of interest. He is acquitted with only one dissenting voice out of the twelve on the jury. He decides that he will be avenged at all costs and sets out to ruin the goldsmith, Ehrberger. Money has bought him excellent legal advice and a brilliant defending counsel and Pernegger hopes that money will buy him revenge. For his integrity Ehrberger is to be reduced to bankruptcy, to lose his friend, Modereiner, for whose sake he has contracted the debts which Pernegger now holds against

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Geschworener, Act I, sc.5. Vol.VII, pp.278-9.

him, and his daughter is to forego her marriage to Modereiner's son. All this happens, because he has meddled in other people's affairs, Modereiner claims. Modereiner, without reflecting that but for him Pernegger would not have been able to ruin Ehrberger, dramatically insists that the two families are 'Opfer seines Schwurgerichts'.<sup>1</sup> He does try, however, to dissuade Pernegger from his purpose.

Modereiner. '... Der Ehrberger, is halt doch eingantlich ein Ehrenmann.'

Pernegger. 'Das missfällt mir eben an seinem Charakter. Und wenn ich ihn fallieren mache und ihn hinwegwische aus den Reihen der Geschworenen, so reinige ich nur die Rechtsanschauungen derselben zu gunsten aller unternehmenden Geschäftsleute.'<sup>2</sup>

The reactions of the other characters to Pernegger's evil plan are varied. Pernegger appeals to Modereiner's selfishness when the latter pleads for Ehrberger. He reasons, 'Sie sind sich doch selber der Nächste.'<sup>3</sup>

Hitzig, the fiery tempered defender of justice, he threatens with summons 'wegen Hausfriedensbruch und gefährlicher Drohung'.<sup>4</sup> He himself refuses to respect the law, but demands the law's protection. Hitzig protests,

'Ja so, nur alleweil im Rahmen des Gesetzes! Aber diese Leute respektieren nicht einmal die Leisten und siedeln sich hinter denselben an wie die Wanzen!'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Geschworener, Act II, sc.ii. Vol.VII, p.321.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.2. Vol.VII, p.328.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.328.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.6. Vol.VII, p.335.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.336.

In Act III, scene 7 Ehrberger describes the character and function of the conscientious juror. He explains to Pernegger that a juror must have a Jekyll and Hyde personality. His occupation outside the law-court is of no consequence inside it. Abstract law and justice should not be modified to suit the individual.

'Bei uns Herr, gibt es kein: "Den lassen wir laufen!" und kein: "Den sprechen wir schuldig!" - da hat sich ein jeder an das Gesetz zu halten - und nur an das - daraus seine Überzeugung zu schöpfen, und die hat er vor niemandem zu vertreten als vor seinem eigenen Gewissen.'<sup>1</sup>

Anyone who attacks a just juror is really scorning the court of the people, penalizing a man who gives up his time and energy in good faith to assist in the administration of justice. Ehrberger has become a martyr to justice. The Viennese are inspired with courage to act (by Pernegger's persecution of Ehrberger) and thus the goldsmith is saved from impending distraint. The press and the town garrison also turn on the vindictive money-lender who is trying to intimidate the people's representative in court. Aroused to recognition of their new power and responsibility after centuries of oppression and subjection the people come to the support of Ehrberger.

'Denn wohin möchte es auch kommen, wenn sich die ehrlichen Leute gleich von jedem Halunken einschüchtern liessen? Über den Punkt denkt alles so wie er, halb Wien ist die Courage eingeschossen, wieder einmal einen Lumpen Lump zu nennen, und halb Wien kann der doch nicht wegen Ehrenbeleidigung klagen... Alles steht auf'm Vater Ehrberger seiner Seite, er hat die allgemeine Teilnahme und Achtung für sich.'<sup>2</sup>

Pernegger yields to force exerted by general hostility and the play ends with the triumph of the juror, Ehrberger, upheld by a new force - public opinion.

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Geschworener, Act III, sc.7. Vol.VII, pp.339-340.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.14. Vol.VII, p.356.



Other problems connected with the system of law-giving are broached in Ein Geschworener - the extent to which a criminal is responsible for his crime if there is no free will, the conception of crime as an illness, a social disease, and the fanatical enthusiast for law and order who causes endless trouble to the police by his own excesses. The first problem is discussed and dismissed amid laughter. Anzengruber discusses the second in his Märchen, too, proposing that criminals should be pitied and treated in such a way that they may be cured, or at least improved, and not cast out or disdainfully used. Hitzig who represents the third problem is severely reprimanded by Ehrberger and advised to study self-control.

Besides jurors, lawyers, and police receive attention, in Anzengruber's works, especially in the Aphorisms. The immorality of the behaviour of lawyers who seek only financial gain is exposed in Das Weidenweiblein, and in Aphorism 450. The Aphorism is headed, Moral.

'Der Verteidiger (von seinem Klienten): „Er mag es wohl getan haben, als Geschworener würde ich ihn schuldig sprechen.“  
Verträgt sich das mit dem Rechtsbegriff? Ja! Mit den Anforderungen der reinen Moral?'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber dreams of a state in which there are 'Kein Zensor, kein Henker, kein Advokat Knifflich' - in which judges are incorruptible materially and morally. His desire for more humane treatment of criminals leads him to observe that the training of officials makes them intolerant and even inhuman. As Büchner noted in Woyzeck

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 450. Vol.VIII, pp.133-4.

specialists are inclined to forget the common bond of humanity and regard men as 'cases'. Anzengruber shows us an example of such a specialist in the police agent, Anton Willfert, from the story Der Verschollene.

Anyone who expects wonders to be worked by lawyers is cruelly disappointed by Anzengruber, who proves that neither judge nor jury can fully appreciate the whole evidence in a case, since it is never forthcoming. Gross injustice or, more euphemistically expressed, a fatal mistake, is almost committed in Unter schwerer Anklage<sup>1</sup> while in Die düstere Grabschrift a man is wrongfully convicted of murder and in Der Meineidbauer false evidence given causes the Court to come to an unjust decision. A ruthlessly ambitious policeman in Aphorism 658 invents a case of high treason as a result of which a dozen students receive sentences totalling seventy years.<sup>2</sup> He is promoted.

In Unrecht Gut an ordinary man's opinion of court procedure is given in the words of the farmer Rohrhofer. He complains that he cannot understand the Latin phraseology, and that he does not believe lawyers can judge justly on the strength of pieces of written paper or the evidence of frightened people. He remembers more than one unfortunate who had been hanged and afterwards proved innocent. Such replies are given in Anzengruber's works to those who believe that 'with God and notaries everything is possible' - especially to peasants like Jockl in Nit gehn tan tat's who typifies all 'Opfer allzufreier Selbstbestimmung und ländlicher Unkenntnis der Gesetze.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 658, Vol.VIII, p.192.

<sup>3</sup> Nit gehn tan tat's. Vol.XII, p.196.

Various laws, too, are criticised. Their number evokes cutting comment. For example in Aphorism 742, Anzengruber writes, 'Der Mensch stolpert in einem fort über Gesetze, Erlässe, Verordnungen - die reine Papiermotte.'<sup>1</sup> Laws governing state administration also meet with disapproval. The levy of heavy taxes is compared to the robbing of wealthy men in the Middle Ages - the only difference being that now all men are thus stripped of their possessions. Anzengruber mentions some dangers which arise from unwise government in Aphorism 770, Die Anarchisten:

'Es ist von Seite der Regierung<sup>zu</sup> zu viel Einnengung in persönliche und Vereinsangelegenheiten und so weiter getrieben worden, es wurde an ganz ungeeigneter Stelle viel zu viel bevormundet und regiert und anderseits nicht regiert... Es geschieht nie etwas ohne Veranlassung: die Anmasslichkeit der polizeilichen, administrativen etc. Vorschriften, Verordnungen, die keinem Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaft, des Volkes, und nur einer missverständlichen Sorge für den Staat ihre Entstehung verdanken, der Schutz des Kapitals als steuerkräftig, die Vernachlässigung der Arbeiterinteressen, denen auch die Selbsthilfe bevormundet wird...'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber warns his country that the downtrodden will avenge themselves in wholesale destruction unless his advice is heeded -

'Achtet das Individuum, die menschliche Freiheit, und die Anarchisten wären eine Unmöglichkeit.'

He does realise on the other hand that men's primitive instincts have to be controlled, although he does not approve of several existing 'legal muzzles'. In Aphorism 429 he declares,

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 742. Vol.VIII, p.219.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 770. Vol.VIII, pp.229-230.

'Gesetze, Verordnungen, Sitten, Religion, das sind die Beisskörbe, auf dass sich die Menschen-Bestien nicht untereinander zerfleischen und auffressen.'<sup>1</sup>

This crushing reflection is supported by Fragment 154, Ameisen, in which man's primitive instinct to destroy is discussed.<sup>2</sup> Society needs laws, Anzengruber admits, but wiser and juster laws. He claims that truth is 'forbidden by law',

'denn sie fällt meist unter irgend einen Paragraphen des Strafgesetzbuches, von der Gotteslästerung bis hinab zur Ehrenbeleidigung.'<sup>3</sup>

and furthermore that present laws do not incarnate justice -

'Gesetze, die Lappen mit denen sich das Recht, die verkappte Willkür, ausstaffiert, denn Recht ist, das bleibt zu allen Zeiten das, was der jeweiligen Mehrheit recht ist.'<sup>4</sup>

Anzengruber's main complaints are that too many laws exist, especially such as favour the capitalist section of the community, that laws and morals do not agree, that some people, and quite frequently the wrongdoers, derive unfair benefit from the law and that often laws are just arbitrary decisions of the majority. In the face of this Anzengruber calls for fundamental reforms after he has come to the conclusion,

'Die Leidenschaften zu bändigen, haben wir jedoch kein Mittel. Gesetze, staatliche und göttliche, helfen nicht, die Medizin kommt erst nach geschehenem Schaden. Zu beheben, soweit menschenmöglich, wenigstens zu mildern erst durch Umgestaltung unserer sozialen Zustände.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 429. Vol.VIII, p.128.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 154. Vol.I, pp.396-7.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 460. Vol.VIII, p.136.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 458. Vol.VIII, p.136.

<sup>5</sup> Aphorism 462. Vol.VIII, p.138.

The state of Austrian laws is partly attributable to the character of the Austrian people. Anzengruber champions the people who have been suppressed and misused by generations of despotic government until they have lost the power of thinking for themselves. That is why he is anxious that public opinion should develop as a weapon against injustice. He wants people to judge for themselves so that they may resist the wiles of the unscrupulous - particularly at elections.

Let us observe the Austrians through the eyes of three other contemporary writers - Mrs. Trollope, Benno Weber and Sidney Whitman. Mrs. Trollope comments that 'the Austrians are conservative in every sense of the word.' She finds them quite unused to discussing politics and uninterested in them. She decides 'It is impossible to believe that anyone would make use of this class as political agents excepting upon the cat's-paw principle.'<sup>1</sup> Benno Weber observes how indolent and diffident the Austrians are as a rule in legal matters - so much so that he says 'so mag beispielsweise die Schuldhafte juridisch ein grosser Fortschritt sein, geschäftlich ist sie wohl weit eher unter unsern Verhältnissen ein fühlbarer Rückschritt.'<sup>2</sup> Of the Viennese S. Whitman notes that they are 'a queer compound of Teuton, Slavonic and even Hebrew blood... There is poverty enough and too much crime as well as an abnormal percentage of suicides.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs. F. Trollope. London 1837, Vol.II, Letter XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> Einige Ursachen der Wiener Krise vom Jahre 1873 by Benno Weber. Leipzig 1874, pp.39-40.

<sup>3</sup> The Realm of the Habsburgs by Sidney Whitman. London 1893, pp.93-4.

Anzengruber expressed his opinion that crime and suicide often spring from an unsatisfactory and unfair social structure. In the words of Gotthelf's Hans Joggi Anzengruber might protest:

'Wir fordern wenig vom Staate, wir fordern bloss er solle dafür sorgen, dass die Institute und Ämter, welche er zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung, zur Sicherheit der Personen und des Eigentums errichtet, besoldet, patentiert, ihren Zweck erfüllen und nicht das Gegenteil desselben, dass wer zum Beispiel zum Recht verhelfen soll, nicht Teilnehmer am Unrecht oder Mehler desselben sei, dass Recht finden leichter sei als Unrecht verdecken, dass ehrlicher Erwerb wenigstens ebenso sicher sei als Diebsgut, Erwerben so begünstigt sei als Verschleudern, dass über dem Volke ein klar Recht sei.'<sup>1</sup>

The Church, the State, the Army, the noble and the rich have all had a hand in law-making. In Stahl und Stein a régime of force introduced by mayor Eisner revives memories of the older system of justice with its privileges, its lords and serfs, its dungeons and tortures, corruption and superstitious prejudice.<sup>2</sup> Manorial justice was one of the last feudal institutions to be abolished in practice. At length, however, the ordinary people are to have a chance to reform former abuses and to correct shortcomings in the administration of justice, so as to prevent future injustices. Their voices may be heard on juries, at elections, in chorus as 'public opinion'.

There still remains much to be done. For instance Colquhoun in his Whirlpool of Europe provides us with a short history of the policing of the Austrian state.<sup>3</sup> He finds red tape everywhere. The spread of

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias Gotthelf by Rudolf Hunziker, Frauenfeld und Leipzig 1927, pp.166-7. Quotation from Erlebnisse eines Schuldenbauers.

<sup>2</sup> cf. 's Moorhofers Traum.

<sup>3</sup> The Whirlpool of Europe, chapter 10.



liberal ideas has made the gradual restriction of the powers and function of the secret police inevitable. They are now employed, undoubtedly, partly for political and partly for criminal investigations and also to carry out the system by which each citizen is personally under the observation of the law, but it is not necessary to construe this as an interference with private liberty; it is rather in the nature of a preventive measure which the democratic countries, where every man is his own keeper, do not deem necessary. Anzengruber's revealing comment to his countrymen is: 'Ihr dürft Soldaten sein, steurzahlende Bürger, Narren, aber Menschen nicht.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber wished every man to achieve independent judgment by a higher standard of education and by rigid self-discipline guided by conscience which reflects inner moral harmony and balance.<sup>2</sup> Primitive, bestial instincts will thus be overcome. The tyranny of the physically or financially powerful over the weak will be mitigated. In this connection Anzengruber attacked in Die Tochter des Wucherers the practice of usury which caused widespread misery and injustice until it was regulated in 1914.<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber has faith in the ideal of natural justice inborn in men, and believes that men, given every chance to grow to full stature, will be able to promote far-reaching reforms in the legal system.

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 738. Vol.VIII, p.226.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 566. Vol.I, p.553.

<sup>3</sup> Der grosse Brockhaus, Leipzig 1935, 15.Aufl. Bd.20, p.464.

Measures for the prevention of crime will take pride of place. These include firstly a decent standard of living for all, secondly understanding provision for future needs - especially for the rapidly increasing demands for industrial legislation - and thirdly a system of education to ensure that the narrow, selfish, smug villagers of Steinklopferhanns's Märchen or Keller's Die drei gerechten Kammacher will disappear and be replaced by an enlightened generation. The prevention of crime and its punishment are matters of concern to all. The aim must be a 'Rechtsstaat' not a 'Paragraphenstaat'. Lawyers, jurors, police and witnesses must be purged of corruption and immorality and realise their responsibilities. Those unjustly sentenced ought to receive public redress and compensation and ex-prisoners should be treated sympathetically. Casting aside vague religious assurances of deferred justice men should work on earth for perfect justice. Most important of all, certain parts of the social structure will have to be reorganised so that there should be less provocation to anti-social demonstrations.

'Richtet nicht' we are counselled by Steinklopferhanns in his Märchen in accordance with the Bible.<sup>1</sup> 'Seid nur vernünftig, liebe Zeitgenossen' is Dr. Knorr's advice in Elfriede.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a little more strongly than Anzengruber himself would have said it, the grey haired surgeon in Getreu dem Feldzeichen expresses his opinion as to

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<sup>1</sup> Märchen III, Vol.XIV, p.73.

<sup>2</sup> Elfriede, Act III, sc.2. Vol.V, p.51.

how wrongdoers should be treated (for treatment rather than punishment of crime is advocated):

'Mit den glühenden Kohlen, die man auf das Haupt des Feindes sammelt, kocht man auch wenig gar", murmelte der Doktor. "Ehre der Humanität! Sie hält sich fern von allen Extremen. Sie setzt dem Vergeltungsdrange, dem sie nicht ganz zu wehren vermag, Ziel und Mass und an Stelle des übermenschlich hohen, 'Liebet eure Feinde', das dem Geschlechte lange genug verderblich gepredigt worden, ihr zwingenderes Gebot: Vernichtet einander nicht!"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Getreu dem Feldzeichen. Vol.XIII, p.511.

CHAPTER THREE.

PROBLEMS OF LOVE AND MARRIAGE.

Anzengruber was obsessed by problems of love and marriage, which are fundamental to the health and security of society. His proffered affection had been rejected on at least three occasions. Mathilde Kammeritsch's refusal of his formal proposal in 1865 most deeply disappointed him. He sent his declaration to 'der Gespielin meiner Jugend, meiner reizenden Freundin und dem fleckenlosen reinen ehrlichen Mädchen.'<sup>1</sup> Eight years later he marries the sixteen year old Adelinde Lipka, sister of his boyhood friend, Franz. This marriage was doomed to failure. The young girl was in love with someone else and accepted Anzengruber, who was fourteen years older, under pressure from her mother. The atmosphere of the frivolous Lipka home furnished Anzengruber with material for his Das vierte Gebot. After the father's death he helped the Lipkas in their financial plight and even paid for Adele's schooling. He afterwards related how the unfortunate Seling in Die düstere Grabschrift paid for the education of his protégée and married her. 'Viele ältere Herren tragen sich mit der Lieblingsidee, Frauen für sich erziehen zu lassen.'<sup>2</sup> he mocked. This match was based on a lie and ended disastrously. His own fate was divorce following his wife's desertion of him. In a letter to Bolin he wrote, 'Ich habe meine 16 jährige ... Ehe ... trennen lassen.'<sup>3</sup> Adelinde had never been able to reach the standard set by his mother. In Fragment 483 Zugrunde gegangen am

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<sup>1</sup> Briefe I, 27. August 1865. Nr. 61, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Die düstere Grabschrift. Vol. XV, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> An Bolin, Wien... den 5. Oktober 1889. Briefe II, nr. 489, p. 258.

Weibe he bewails his own experience after his mother's death, 'Je nun, mir fehlte das Weib ohne Makel, dem ich ganz voll und unbedingt vertrauen konnte.'<sup>1</sup> Such tension and stress in his own matrimonial relations naturally increased his interest in problems of love and marriage, so that he followed every circuitous path of speculation and peered into every no<sup>o</sup>k and cranny of possible variation, of which his mind could conceive.

He defines love in Fragments 486 and 566 and 568. In Fragment 486 he writes, 'Liebe ist die Poesie des Triebes, Sitte die Vorsorge um Entfaltung der Fähigkeit der Fortpflanzung gegen Missbrauch des Triebes.'<sup>2</sup> Fragment 566 reads: 'Liebe ist der Wahnsinn des Triebes - auch eine, und zwar die hauptsächlichste Art der Manien des Egoismus, welche nur durch die Vernunft der Ehe und durch die Selbstlosigkeit der Elternliebe ausgeglichen wird.'<sup>3</sup> The definition in Fragment 568 is: Liebe ist ein Gefallen an der ganzen Persönlichkeit und schliesst, erwidert, gegenseitig die Untreue aus.'<sup>4</sup> Love may end in marriage, seduction, irregular unions, adultery, illegitimacy and crime, and Anzengruber has investigated all of these. He presents us with two examples of irregular union - those of Tomerl and his red-haired love in Stahl und Stein who have children, and of the actor Engelstein and actress Valentin in Ein Brief der tötet who <sup>though unmarried</sup> live together as artists may do, although he does regard her as his wife. The new mayor in Stahl

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 483. Vol.I, p.528.

<sup>2</sup> A. 486. Vol.VIII, p.143.

<sup>3</sup> A. 568. Vol.VIII, p.167.

<sup>4</sup> A. 566. Vol.VIII, p.166.



und Stein wants to revive the law which used to forbid couples who were poor or uneducated to marry, and yet would not permit them to live together without the marriage tie. Those who suffer most in irregular unions are, as in every irregularity in the family relationship, the children. Rosa in Brave Leut vom Grund in answer to her aunt's question, 'Ös werdts doch verheiratet sein?' replies,

'Bewahr! Bei allem tröst ein ja doch nur der Gedanke, dass mer jeden Augenblick voneinander weggehen kann. Da kommen Täg, wo man so im verschuldtten Jammer den unverschuldtten der Kinder mitansehen muss und frei hinrennen möcht... - ins Wasser.'<sup>1</sup>

Passionate love is often the undoing of young girls, or again it may be self-indulgence, or greed. Sometimes it is even to gain or retain a means of livelihood that they sell their bodies. Anzengruber emphasises particularly the causes of their initial seduction and their attitude to their position. Society favours the man. Many young girls are robbed of their honour by unscrupulous men like the roués of Fragment 293, who use women in a brutal way as a means of enjoyment, seducing only young girls and then leaving them pregnant.

Makulatur, one of Anzengruber's sketches, tells of a wife deserted by her husband, because he chances to see an old newspaper wrapping, which contains a full account of the seduction by a teacher of a number of schoolgirls. His own wife had been one of the unfortunate girls and so the outraged husband demands a divorce. The author remarks,

'Ihn konnte sein gutes Gewissen trösten. Er hatte nur getan, was er seiner Ehre schuldig war. Gewiss durch einige wenige

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<sup>1</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, Dritte Abteilung, sc.(2). Vol.VI, pp.260-1.

Worte hätte er sich vollkommen rehabilitieren können, bei dem glänzenden Standpunkte unserer Moral, welche die Gefallenen verdammt und die Verführten verstösst, ohne von deren Verderbern und Verführern sonderlich Notiz zu nehmen.<sup>1</sup>

Some men are so depraved as to make a young girl's honour the subject of a bet, as in Früher Tod, and (the tragedy of the only daughter of a widowed surgeon) in Getreu dem Feldzeichen,

Anzengruber's fragments and plots on the theme of seduction consider its relation to crime, prostitution, illegitimacy, housing, morals, parents, marriage and religion. Young girls, still children in many respects, servants and factory girls are the most common victims. Circumstances leading to their downfall are early maturity, bad company, bad example and such practices in country districts as 'Fensterln' in which the lover appears at a girl's window and begs admittance. Lorenz in Ein Dorfidyll carries on this game with two girls, intending to bring both into disgrace. Anzengruber repeatedly demonstrates that affairs before marriage are considered no serious handicap. In Der Gewissenswurm the maid whom Grillhofer has seduced marries a farmer. Minna, Ein Braves Mädchen, passes through the hands of every lodger who has stayed with her mother, until she at last traps a workman into marrying her.

Helene in Der Sternsteinhof and the girl in Fragment 223, in trouble through other men, accept the social protection offered by former play-mates who have loved them faithfully since childhood. Anzengruber in Fragment 225, Satirische Novelle, comments:

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<sup>1</sup> Makulatur, Skizzen I. Vol. XIII, p. 573.

'Ein Kritiker sagt, man heirate verführte Mädchen in der Regel nicht. Ja, wenn man überhaupt gesellschaftlich heiratet. Wenn man aber liebt, dann glaubt man nicht an den Makel der Gewählten, und wenn man daran glauben muss, dann entschuldigt man alles an ihr und hasst nur den Verführer, ja selbst, wenn dies nicht angeht, da die Verführung nicht eine solche, sondern Hingabe, so beschuldigt man die Eltern, die Jugendtorheit - lassen kann man nicht, wenn man leidenschaftlich liebt.'<sup>1</sup>

Sexual corruption and its excuse are revealed by a girl in Fragment 509, 'Er wird so wenig auf mich gwart habn, wie ich auf ihn.'<sup>2</sup> The girl, now married, had been seduced when she was eleven.

Randinger's daughter in Die Herzfalte and Most-Bartl's old sweetheart in Ein Wiedersehen are both forced by their fathers for the sake of convention and the family honour to marry their seducers. The result is that in the former story the husband ruins his wife morally, physically and financially, and in the latter the dissolute husband and father corrupts wife and child. It is evident that, although Anzengruber does not approve of 'shop-soiled' wives and mothers, he does not agree unreservedly that a man should marry a girl whom he has seduced. Fragment 32, headed Drama - Novelle, treats of this problem too.

'Er, der anders gewordene ehemalige Student, bekommt als Staatsanwalt, erste Amtshandlung, die Dirne, die er als Mädchen mit einem Kinde sitzen liess.

'Der Freund verteidigt ihn vor der Frau, die, echt weiblich, behauptet, er hätte, weil er das Mädchen unglücklich gemacht, es heiraten sollen; hätte er seine Dummheit zur lebenslänglichen machen sollen?'<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand Fragment 430 condemns those who have promised marriage and break their word.

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 225. Vol.I, p.441.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 509. Vol.I, p.535.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 32. Vol.I, p.338.

'„Oh, wie viele Schufte gibt es dann. Ich nimm die Mali in beiderseitigem Interesse mit, wir würden nit glücklich sein...“  
„Ich schon nit, mit so ein Mann nit! Aber das lassen mer zur Seit, ums Glücklichein handelt sich's gar nit und is a schwer möglich mit so aner Rass Männer, wie ös seids, mer heirat, dass d' Kinder ein Vadern habn.“<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber seems to be of the opinion that it is stupid to marry, where not love but only appetite has been. If indulgence of desire involves innocent children then the situation is different. So long as there is no control of such matters the problem will remain. In Aphorisms 610, 611, 612 and 613 he calls upon medical science to undertake research in this field. He deplores abortions and asks in Aphorism 612:

'Wäre es nicht geratener, wenn die Ärzte das etwas dunkle Gebiet der Zeugung gründlich und darauf hin untersuchen, die Schwängerung zu verhüten? Man kann es dermalen noch immer dem Weibe überlassen, ob es Mutter werden will oder nicht... Kindesmorde, die aus Not, und andere, die aus Herzlosigkeit geschehen, sprechen eine nicht misszuverstehende Sprache.'<sup>2</sup>

In opposition to the ruling of the Roman Catholic Church he also advocates 'family planning' - 'damit nicht einzelne Familien geradezu an dem Kindersegen zugrunde gehen.'<sup>3</sup> He shows us the predicament of the poor woodcutter, Agidi, in the story Der starke Pankraz und die schwache Eva, whose wife is expecting her fourteenth child which will be the sixth surviving child if it lives. He does not place much faith in the saying 'Wem Gott ein Haserl gibt, dem gibt er auch ein Graserl', but exclaims wryly, 'Ja, wenn s' ein Gras fressen möchten!'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 430. Vol.I, p.514.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 612. Vol.VIII, p.178.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 610. Gott und Welt. Vol.VIII, p.178.

<sup>4</sup> Der starke Pankraz und die schwache Eva: Dorfgänge I. Vol.XI, p.315.

Unwanted children resulting from cases of seduction lead in Früher Tod, Hartingers alte Sixtin, Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern and other stories and plays to suicide, infanticide and murder. Seling in Die düstere Grabschrift murders his sister's seducer, when the rascal refuses to fight a duel. In Früher Tod one of Leopold Niederrèitner's many conquests has to serve a five years' sentence for infanticide, and Sixtin in Hartingers alte Sixtin has also spent five years in prison for a similar offence. Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern is about a farmer, Jakob Wiesner, who burns a maid in a hayrick, because she is expecting his child. He is, however, found out by the girl's brother and brought to justice. Wiesner's warning to others is, that the affair has proved harmful to his property, undermined his domestic peace and destroyed his reputation. Sophie Käsmeier in Alte Wiener threatens to drown herself if Gustav Schmalhofer, whose child she is to bear, does not marry her. Gustav is at first afraid of his father and reluctant to face his responsibilities. The good Kernhofer, however, persuades Gustav's father to allow the two young people to marry for the sake of his grandchildren, who may otherwise grow up in a slum, hungry and deformed.

Even when innocent children are not concerned, seduction may have tragic consequences. Anzengruber's novel in fragments, Sumpf, has as its main theme the seduction of factory girls. Rosa, a young girl new to the factory, is warned not to make an enemy of the foreman. She is quite content with Anton her sweetheart and does not want to have

anything to do with the foreman who possesses 'women in herds'. One of the factory girls explains, 'Fried will eine und Arbeit. Hässlich ist er nicht, so denkt eine von uns wie die andere.'<sup>1</sup> In the end Rosa drowns herself in the Danube, because of the foreman's importunities and Anton's lack of trust. Fragment 277 contains a brutal boast, 'In d' Fabrik kommt kein Mädal, das nit mein war.'<sup>2</sup> Conditions in factories were indeed bad. Anzengruber's complaints are borne out in Die Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse der Wiener Lohnarbeiterinnen, an enquiry into women's working conditions in Vienna. The chairman questions Expert 22:

Vorsitz. Wie sind die Sittlichkeitsverhältnisse?

Exp.Nr.22. Die Arbeiterinnen sollen sich den Launen der Herren hingeben....

Dr. Verkauf. Ist das etwas Systematisches?

Exp.Nr.22. Bereits, auch in grösseren Betrieben. Die Arbeiterinnen, die sich den Wünschen des Herrn gefügig zeigen, haben den Vorzug!...

Dr. Verkauf. Sind diese Betriebe unter den Arbeiterinnen bekannt?

Exp.Nr.22. O ja. Es gibt viele Arbeiterinnen, die mit dem Herrn Kinder haben, sogar unter den Lehrmädchen gibt es solche<sup>3</sup>.

Aphorism 493, headed Nachtkaffee. Die Mädchen sind Konsumentenbedienung continues the tale of the depravity of manufacturer, foreman and even

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<sup>1</sup> Sumpf. Nr.251-268. Vol.I, p.451.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 277. Vol.I, p.461.

<sup>3</sup> Die Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse der Wiener Lohnarbeiterinnen: Ergebnisse und stenographisches Protokoll der Enquête über Frauenarbeit abgehalten in Wien vom 1.März bis 21.April, 1896. Wien, 1897, p.73.



customer.

'Das Mädchen getraut sich nicht, einen Genuss zu weigern, da das ihm das Brot kosten könnte, den Werkführer zur Quälerei veranlassen würde.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber intended to attack these abuses in the work to be called Sumpf, but time and the censor were against him and his references to 'Die Gepressten und Freiwilligen des Lasters'<sup>2</sup> are scattered through his completed stories and dramas. For instance in the play Der Reformtürk the ladies of the harem are Austrians, 'governesses and chambermaids', who have suddenly been dismissed. Bugelberger's cousin has taken them into his care. In real life, however, the end is different - not the comparative security and seclusion of a harem but the precarious path of the prostitute.

Philippine in Der Christabend einer Leichtfertigen, Josefa in Das vierte Gebot, Mali in D' Parapluiemacher-Mali and Kathi in Ein Wiedersehen are four of Anzengruber's 'white slaves'. He attaches great importance to the causes of their first fall - often the result of ignorance, bad upbringing or the greed of others. Young, pretty Philippine receives gifts from men in exchange for her ho<sup>n</sup>our. Although her mother is outraged at her daughter's way of life, it is really her fault for she has never explained things properly, nor did she watch over her daughter carefully enough. Again the mother may wittingly egg her daughter on to sell herself as in D' Parapluiemacher-Mali and Das vierte Gebot. In the former story the umbrella-maker who is relating the tale formulates the moral. Mali is persuaded by her

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 493. Vol.VIII, p.146.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 523. Vol.I, p.540.

mother to become the mistress of a young count. She has her own smart little equipage and a two-storied house in the suburbs. The meaning is that she is well provided for, should the affair finish. For those who consider their station too lowly, there is always the possibility of becoming some rich man's mistress - financially it is advisable - and that is the life which Bergauer presumes in Ein Faustschlag (Act II, scene ii) that his wife has chosen. Loss of self respect contributes to her downfall and to that of Fibi Bentheim in Ein Brief der tötet.

Dissolute parents who live on money procured by the sale of their daughters' bodies are the Schalanter in Das vierte Gebot and Kathi's parents in Ein Wiedersehen.<sup>\*</sup> The greatest tragedy of prostitution is the fate of Josepha in Das vierte Gebot. She had been allowed to have an affair with young Stolzen<sup>F</sup>haler, son of the house-proprietor, for her parents were nine months overdue with their rent, but she had hoped that he would eventually marry her. Frau Schal<sup>A</sup>nter merely remarks:

'Dös hast du glaubt? Für so dumm hätlich dich nit ghalten.

Josepha. Und Sö, Mutter, habn's im voraus gwusst, dass's so kommt?

Barbara (wie selbstverständlich) Aber Kind - -. <sup>1</sup>

Josephz protests that she could have watched over her more carefully, instead of joining in picnics and spending hours in the tavern, so

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.13. Vol.V, p.172.

<sup>\*</sup> London Labour and the London Poor by Henry Mayhew, Vol.I: The London Street-folk. London 1851, p.136.

Henry Mayhew in his London Labour and the London Poor recounts the life story of a flower girl who supplements her poor earnings by prostitution. 'Some of these girls are, as I have stated, of an immoral character, and some of them are sent out by their parents to make out a livelihood by prostitution.'

that she and Stolzen<sup>†</sup>haler were left alone. Barbara explains that Josepha has not been brought up to do any work.

'A harte hätt sich für dich nit gschickt und was Feins konnt mer dich nit lernen lassen...

Josepha. Was hab ich jetzt davon? Das Gfetzwerk und der Gschmuck werden bald versetzt oder verkauft sein, ich steh da als a arms verlassens Gschöpf, das nix hat als a üble Nachred und um das sich kein Mann mehr umschaut.

Barbara. Gehst denn nit! Dir werdn noch gnug kommen. So a Madel, wie du eins bist, dös mag sein, wie's will, und is noch allweil für kein z'schlecht!<sup>1</sup>

Later in Act III, scene 3, Josepha refuses Johann's proposal of marriage,

'Ich dank garanimmer ans Heiraten! für ein Braven wär ich z Unglück und ein Schlechten möcht ich selber nit.'<sup>2</sup>

If not in the eyes of society, at least in Anzengruber's view, marriage for money is equivalent to high class prostitution. In Fragment 226 he gives his opinion under the heading Bedenklich:

'Auch sogenannte solide Mädchen bieten ihre Reize in der Ehe dem Wohlhabenden an.'<sup>3</sup>

Hedwig Hutterer's parents in Das vierte Gebot make capital out of their child by forcing her to marry the rich young rake, Stolzen<sup>†</sup>haler.

Hedwig declares to Josepha in Act IV, scene 3,

'Wir gehören in eine Kategorie... Ob an einen oder an mehrere, wir sind ja doch zwei Verkaufte.'<sup>4</sup>

The stench of the swamp rises,

'Auch nach oben, die Herren, die mit Kurtisanen verkehren und dann unschuldige Mädchen verlangen zur Ehe (siehe die französische Komödien!), sind Lumpe.'

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.13. Vol.V, p.173.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.3. Vol.V, p.213.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 226. Vol.I, p.441.

<sup>4</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act IV, sc.3. Vol.V, p.231.

Poor, innocent girls sold to such men find they are cheated not only of married happiness but also of their joy in motherhood<sup>x</sup>, like Hedwig Hutterer whose child has a congenital disease.

Prostitution blunts the senses much as does excessive indulgence in drink or drugs. Peperl in Fragment 276 'lives like a little animal'.<sup>1</sup> The desire for ~~er~~need of money often tempts a woman to sell her honour. Anzengruber tells us of a rich man who offers a girl a considerable sum of money for one night. She confesses this to her betrothed. They are poor but the money enables them to marry. The stain remains always between them.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat more excusable is the wife who plays the prostitute to support her husband who is ill. When he recovers he becomes strict - it is not to happen again.<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber's attitude to prostitutes is comparable with Tolstoy's outlook in What then must we do? 'It is not for us to blame her', said I; 'if we all lived godly lives there would not be any such as she. ... Then it is not for us to reproach them but to pity them. Is it their fault?'<sup>4</sup> Anzengruber, too, is far from condemning prostitutes without a hearing. He suggests that their upbringing and the prevailing social conditions have a lot to do with their way of life.

'Das Elend der niederen Stände ist trostlos. Dass das Mädchen zur Hure, der Bub zum Dieb, Falschspieler etc. wird, das betrachten die Leute schliesslich als ein unabwendbares Los.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 276. Vol.I, p.461.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 272. Vol.I, p.459.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 422. Vol.I, p.512.

<sup>4</sup> What then must we do? by Leo Tolstoy translated by Aylmer Maude, p.44.

<sup>5</sup> Aphorism 694. Vol.VIII, p.203.

He concludes that they must be looking at everything 'höchst natürlich und noch mehr geschäftsmässig.'<sup>1</sup> The contribution of the cities to the social evil of prostitution is revealed in Fragment 421.

'In der Grossstadt gehen einem blutjunge schon über manche Dinge die Augen auf, wo besser wär, man wüsst auf lang noch nichts davon. Halbwüchsige Mädchen, wie wir waren, wussten wir schon, was da für Geschöpfe nachts durch die Strassen strichen, und wir sahen es für eine Art unehrlicher Gewerbe an, wie'n Henker seins ist. Vielleicht wird auch das noch ehrlich; solange man das Gewerbe für nötig hält, darf es dem nicht kränken, der's treibt.'<sup>2</sup>

If women agreed not to practise prostitution and men not to avail themselves of it, then a serious menace to happy marriages and to the health of a nation's population would be at an end. Anzengruber puts in a plea for the poor girls who give pleasure to many and are consequently more deserving than one socially approved woman, who causes grief and anxiety to one man. In another aphorism he claims that fallen women and girls are more to be pitied than condemned, for, although both men and women are to blame, women suffer more despite the law of alimentation. As usual the last to be considered are the children. Fragment 513:

'Ein Jungfernkind. („Nicht erziehbär".) Es hat keinen Vater oder zu viele - denn seine Mutter war eine von denen, die auf die Strasse gehen.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber is much concerned about illegitimacy. In Hartingers alte Sixtin he describes the state of mind of an unmarried mother and the fate of her child:

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 421. Vol.I, p.511.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 494. Vol.VIII, p.510.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 513. Vol.I, p.536.

'unter Donner und Blitz und Regenschauern hab ich ein Kind geboren, dass es ein Knabe war, hab ich später öfter hören müssen; als es da war, hab ich keine Frage darnach getan. Ich dachte nur daran, dass ich es nicht ernähren könne. Sollte es heranwachsen in Entbehrung und Blösse, ein fortwährendes Erinnern an meine Schand, mir eine Last und der Welt zu nichts gut, als darin herumgestossen zu werden und seine Mütter verachten zu lernen, wie es selber von den Leuten verachtet wurde?! Neben mir lag der Graben voll Regenwasser, da hinein hab ich es fallen lassen!'<sup>1</sup>

The moral and social disabilities confronting unmarried mothers are manifold. They usually find it difficult to obtain work. Sixtin has to be specially recommended by Hartinger's brother, a priest, before she receives work on Hartinger's farm, where she has to prove by extraordinary diligence and loyalty that she is not a bad influence.<sup>2</sup> An illegitimate child can be a problem, too, for a single woman in a city, who has perhaps only part of a jointly hired bed in which to sleep, and thus it is quite a common occurrence for fatherless children to be boarded out in the country. During the first half of the nineteenth century such boarders were welcomed to the families of Austrian farmers, for they could be conscripted instead of the eldest son of their adopted father. Should the mothers marry, the children are often even worse off. Minna in Ein braves Mädchen does not concern herself about her little two-year-old after her marriage.

'Weit draussen auf dem Lande befindet sich ein kleines, kaum zweijähriges Geschöpchen bei habgierigen Bauersleuten in Pflege, und wenn das magere Kostgeld nicht auf den Tag eintrifft, so wird das arme, kleine Ding unfreundlich herumgestossen.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hartingers alte Sixtin, Dorfgänge I. Vol.XI, p.297.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. George Moore's Esther Waters.

<sup>3</sup> Ein braves Mädchen: Vorstadtgeschichten. Vol.XIII, pp.414-5.



Jakob in Falsches Glück knows nothing of his parents for he was born in a foundling hospital and then sent out to board in the country. The peasants with whom he stays write every month in their dunning letter that he is undeservedly better cared for than others of his kind. He is allowed to wear his foster-brother's clothes, while the latter wears what is sent from town. Abuses may not have been quite as bad as on English baby-farms, but continual reproaches and lack of love must have had effects, and indeed Jakob does grow up morally unstable, and stoically indifferent to human society, happiness or grief - but half a human being.

Fathers also display a criminal lack of concern for their offspring. They, too, can forget their illegitimate children and lavish all their paternal feelings on the brood within their family, although later the former may help their father when they have made their way in the world, while the legitimate sons and daughters wait for papa's death as in Fragment 40<sup>1</sup> or leave the aged father to find shelter with an illegitimate child as in Der Schandfleck. Mathilde Oehrlein in Die Tochter des Wucherers and Agnes in Der ledige Hof are both in love with neglectful fathers of illegitimate children. They show their love by adopting the children. Dusterer, who appears as the worm gnawing at Grillhofer's conscience in Der Wissenswurm, suggests that Grillhofer's illegitimate child is in purgatory -

'weil die Sünden der Eltern an den Kindern gestraft werden, steckt's drein und wohl wegn der eignen Sündhaftigkeit a, meinst, so vater- und mutterlos war's rechtschaffen wordn?!<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 40. Vol.I, p.342.

<sup>2</sup> Der Wissenswurm, Act III, sc.3. Vol.IV, p.161.

In Act II scene 4 Grillhofer prays to God that if his child is alive, regretting its existence and cursing God, He will not hear it. That Grillhofer has some idea of his guilt is apparent from his answer to Rosl's query in Act I scene 3:

'Rosl. Tust doch, als wärst der sündhaftigste Mon. Hast leicht eins umbracht?

Grillhofer. Dös net, Gott sei Dank, Rosl, dös net; aber's Gegenteil auf unerlaubte Art kunnt leicht möglich sein.<sup>1</sup>

The same outlook is expressed in Stahl und Stein, where the end is tragic in contrast to the happiness in store for Grillhofer's daughter Liesel. In Act II, scene 4 we learn that Grillhofer's wife, now dead, had no children. During one of her many illnesses a maid on the farm had attracted Grillhofer. She told him that she was expecting his child and then disappeared. It afterwards transpires that the farmer's wife had given the maid all her savings and sent her away. The child has been brought up by the old Horlacherin who has to send her to her father as the wife had requested if she grows up honest and good. Grillhofer is overjoyed and Liesel jubilant.

'Also du, du hast mer's Lebn gebn, no vergelt dir's Gott, es gfallt mer recht gut af der Welt.'<sup>2</sup>

Those are the fortunate few. The fate of the illegitimate is usually tragic. Anzengruber in Fragment 104 reveals the fate of the illegitimate son of the Count and the middle-class girl.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Gwissenswurm, Act I, sc.3. Vol.IV, p.98.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.6. Vol.IV, p.169.

'Er wächst heimlich verhätschelt auf. Wird Lump und Bettler. Du armer Teufel du, was dich ins Leben rief, wie war's romantisch, heimlich süß - du büssest die Lust, vergehst in Not. Wer's dachte in den süßen Zeiten? Die Frucht ein welker Bettler.'<sup>1</sup>

Chrysostomus Schnackerl in Soloszene suffers on the other hand from too little attention. He goes to school and then becomes first a servant and after that a town porter and finally a scavenger. Einsam in Stahl und Stein and Steinklopferhanns in Die Kreuzelschreiber find life a struggle against society and its prejudices. Einsam's mother had gone to town to give birth to him. He tells Tomerl and Pauli that townspeople are neither better nor worse than others, only there are more of them and such things happen more frequently and are less thought of than in the country. His mother tells him that his father is dead and that an uncle sends them money. He wants to join the army but cannot because he has flat feet. He feels like a loose stone in the wall of human society. In the end he turns out to be the illegitimate son of the tyrannical new mayor, who has been responsible for his death. Mayor Eisner begs his dying son's forgiveness.

In Die Kreuzelschreiber Act III, scene 1 Steinklopferhanns outlines the story of his life - an additional proof that illegitimate birth can be an inescapable fate.

'Os jung Leut kennts freilich nur 'n lustigen Steinklopferhans, aber es war schon a ander Zeit vorher; wie ich noch der arm Hansl war, den a Kuhdirn auf d' Welt bracht hat und zu dem sich kein Vater hat finden wolln. - Hitzt vertragt sich's ganze Dorf recht schön mit mir, ich könnt nit klagn, aber damal, wie mein Mutter Kuhdirn, bald nach meiner Geburt verstorbn is und wie die

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 104. Vol.I, p.375.

Gmeind für mich hat Kostgeld zahl'n müssen, kannst dir schon denken, wie viel Lieb ich da wohl gnossen hab! Jeder hat mir den Groschen, den er für mich beigsteuert hat, gspürn lassen. Dös sündig Volk hat nit dran denkt, dass dös für innere Hallodereien, dö in der Gheim bleiben, eh a leicht Abfinden is, wann s'allzamm so eins erhalten, dös halt auch unvorgsehn in d'Welt h'neingrumpelt is! In der Schul und in der Kirch musst ich zruckstehn, und wie ich bei der Stellung auf einmal für ein reich Bauerssohn hab tauglich sein ... dürfen, war ich ordentlich froh.<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber realises that crime and illegitimacy are frequently connected. Criminal frivolity with regard to unborn children is displayed by the officer in Getreu dem Feldzeichen, whose desire to win a bet leads to the seduction of the only daughter of a widowed surgeon. She dies giving birth to a still-born child. Johanna in Die Trutzige, spiteful and revengeful, urges Martin to seduce Liesel:

'Martin wenn d'mich lieb hast, so bringst s' in d'Schand, und wann d'Alimenten zahl'n müsst!<sup>2</sup>

Strained and involved relationships may lead to suicide and murder. Fragment 506 gives an account of a family in straitened circumstances. A domestic quarrel breaks out and the son, a student, attempts to defend his mother. The enraged husband reproaches him with being the illegitimate son of his wife.

"'Habe auch ich nicht das Recht dazu, dem Manne weiter zur Last zu fallen!'" Zu stolz übrigens dazu, durch Hintertüren in die Welt - geht hin und erschießt sich."<sup>3</sup>

In Fragment 502 Der ehrliche Bastard declares,

'Sie mein Vater?<sup>4</sup> Mein Erzeuger, wollen Sie sagen, der Verführer meiner Mutter!'

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act III, sc.1. Vol.IV, p.70-71. *cf* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Die Trutzige, Act I, sc.6. Vol.IV, p.389.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 506. Vol.I, p.534.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 502. Vol.I, p.533.

and in Fragment 499 Anzengruber imagines the following state of affairs.

'Der Aussereheliche (Sohn des Bauern) zu dem in Ehebruch Erzeugten (Erben des Bauern): "Wie kommst du zu meines Vatern Gut?" Er erschlägt ihn, da er kein Recht kriegen kann.'<sup>1</sup>

The climax to these confused relationships is the love idyll of Magdalene and Florian in Der Schandfleck, which comes to an end when they discover that they are brother and sister. (This theme was popular with Romantic writers.) Flori cannot stand the shock, disappointment and injustice and is killed in a fight with Urban, a village bully. Anzengruber planned a tragedy to be called Die Heiligkeit der Familie, Der Natürliche Sohn, [Der] Illegitime!<sup>2</sup>

Fragment 495 briefly narrates a shattering story:

Der Mann. Gehört ein Kind mein?  
Sterbende. Ja.  
Der Mann. Welches?  
Sterbende. Das älteste.<sup>3</sup>

Tritz-Poldl in Die Heimkehr sacrifices his all for love of Viktel, who is expecting an illegitimate child. The father, a rich farmer's son, intends to forsake her. If this should happen, Viktel has vowed to take her life. Since he cannot marry her at second hand Tritz-Poldl decides to murder the father of the unborn child, for he knows that people will speak of mitigating circumstances - the sudden death of a faithful betrothed and so on. His action achieves its aim. The

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 499. Vol.I, p.532.

<sup>2</sup> Fragments 35-40. Vol.I, pp.339-342.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 495. Vol.I, p.531.

landlord of Braunstätten marries Viktel and the boy grows up a fine lad. If people would only consider the innocent children who may suffer for their selfishness, illegitimacy would rapidly decrease and children would be born only in the socially approved circle of family life.

Excuses for illegitimacy and irregular unions are provided by the strict marriage laws enforced in Austria, especially the practice of keeping sons dependent upon their fathers for too long. This happens for example on farms, where the father does not wish to hand over the farm to his sons and retire as in Der Sternsteinhof and Örtler. Youth is proverbially impatient as Anzengruber reminds us in Fragment 105 entitled Gedicht.

'Und das Weibchen lachte wie toll, und das Kind, das dralle,  
das sie emporschwung mit den rüstigen Armen, lachte..... Dem  
Pfaffen, der die ledige Sünderin schalt:

Hätt ich etwa warten sollen,  
Bis die jungen Jahr verfliegen,  
Um 'nen alten Mann zu pflegen  
Und ein kränklich Kind zu wiegen?'<sup>1</sup>

W.R. Wilde in his Austria gives statistics of illegitimacy in Vienna from 1830 to 1837. There were 56,394 legitimate births and 44,773 illegitimate during these seven years. In 1839 of a total of 945,693 births in Austria (Hungary excepted) 856,503 were legitimate and 89,190 illegitimate.<sup>2</sup> In Scotland the maximum rate of 10.27 illegitimate births out of a total of living births was reached in 1866.

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 105. Vol.I, p.375.

<sup>2</sup> Austria by W.R. Wilde. Dublin 1843, p.212.



The prevalence of illegitimacy and the low rate of infanticides in Austria Wilde explains on pages 209 and 210 as results of the existence of a Lying-In Hospital which 'has undoubtedly proved a source of national moral degradation, for, startling as it sounds, it has offered a premium for illegitimacy.'<sup>1</sup> Preference is given to mothers illegitimately with child, and poor mothers of legitimate children find themselves faced with more formalities and difficulties than the unmarried mothers. Chrysostomus Schnackerl in Soloszene refers to the Foundling Hospital. He recounts that he comes

'aus dem grossen Haus, wo die Madeln hingehn, die ohne Väter Mütter wern wolln, aus diesem grossen Haus, das unserm verdorbenen Jahrhundert noch z' klein wird! Wer erhalt dieses Haus? Der Staat erhalt's! Ich betrachte mich daher als statistischer Sohn, denn der Titel Findling ist mir zu dumm.'<sup>2</sup>

This hospital had been erected in 1784 by Joseph II,

'its avowed object', Wilde reports, 'not only to afford protection to those illegitimate children who are deprived of the care of their parents but also to remove as much as possible the moral and social disabilities under which illegitimate children and their parents labour.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber believes that the suffering is too one-sided. It is the children who suffer most, although they are innocent. They, like the much tried Vroni in Der Meineidbauer, have to bear the jeers of other children and, like her, are made to feel that they have no right to be alive. They have to battle for work and love against prejudice and so Anzengruber pleads with irresponsible people to think of the innocent beings who may have to pay the price of their

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<sup>1</sup> Austria by W.R. Wilde. Dublin 1843, pp.209-210.

<sup>2</sup> Soloszene. Vol.VII, p.253.

<sup>3</sup> Austria by W.R. Wilde, Dublin 1843, p.226.

sin, and demands that society cease to make unfair distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children, for the children are not to blame for being born out of wedlock.

This institution of marriage which causes great social problems is described by Anzengruber in Aphorism 591 as

'eine Institution, vermöge deren zwei Leute, die sich ansonst nicht feind wären noch würden, in die Lage versetzt sind, sich bewusst oder unbewusst, mit Willen oder ganz ausser acht, täglich Unangenehmes, Kränkungen usw. zuzufügen. Verzeihung, Schonung, Nachsicht, ist die Blüte dieses, allerdings ganz inhumanen Institutes - der Kinder halber, die sowieso die Gemeinde versorgen würde und nicht schlechter erziehen und die zur Kapitalbildung, zum Keim der sozialen Frage Anlass geben.'<sup>1</sup>

Professor Crew defines marriage with less bitterness, stressing the social rather than the personal aspect. On page 89 of his Essays on Social Medicine he writes,

'Marriage is the means whereby an organised society translates feelings and inclinations into duties, rights and responsibilities, defining and regulating the social relationship of the cohabiting adult parental pair each to the other and of these towards their offspring and of the latter towards their parents... It is also the means, of course, whereby property and sexual rights are defined and protected.'<sup>2</sup>

Reasons for marriage are varied. People marry for money, position, children or especially on the man's part to provide themselves with a housekeeper or sometimes a toy. Fragment 439 discusses the fate of a woman, who marries in order to be provided for, and makes no secret of this. Poetic justice is done when her husband falls ill

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 591. Vol.VIII, p.173.

<sup>2</sup> Crew, F.A.E., M.D., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S., Professor of Public Health and Social Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. Lectures, 1947.

and she has to support the family. Minchen, in Man kann nicht wegbleiben, marries for social position. She is nineteen and her husband Gustav forty-two. They are now parents and a nursemaid has charge of the child. Minchen's life centres on clothes and social functions. She flutters off to a ball and a flirtation, leaving her husband to die untended. A year later she marries her handsome young cousin. The 'world' reproaches her with being hedonistic. Anzengruber simply calls her heartless. In Die Freundin it is the man who marries for social position. Leopold Sanger, a doctor, has been forced by circumstances to give up his ideals, because so many of his patients die that he becomes known as the 'Totendoktor' and cannot make a living for himself. He rises by a mere stroke of luck. An old established doctor promises Leopold his protection on condition that he marry one of his seven daughters. Leopold chooses the eldest. His father-in-law gives them a house and hands over a number of patients to him. His wife desires only attentiveness and a house to run and a place in society. He becomes a doctor who has his visiting hours between one o'clock and three, goes on his rounds morning and afternoon and calls at night to take his wife home from a party. After five years a plague breaks out in Vienna. The doctor sends his wife and children to the country. He remains at his post and contracts the plague. When he refuses to let his wife know, Friederike Heidenreich, his loyal friend who is secretly in love with him, reminds him that marriage is not a matter which concerns his valuable person alone. To begin with his wife may have been 'eine Grille mit einem Haus' but

now she is the mother of his children and he must realise that there is a responsibility in being loved. As soon as his wife hears that her husband is ill, she returns to Vienna to nurse him. Another marriage, which survives the crisis and turns out well after all, is that of Malwine and her lawyer husband in Das Weidenweiblein. Malwine makes her parents slaves to her vanity and fondness for dress and succeeds in forcing her husband to give up his principles, so that he may earn more money. She lives 'als tonangebende Modedame' until her husband has a nervous breakdown, which makes her realise that he means more to her than clothes, and she prepares to nurse him back to health and new happiness. The idea of turning a wife into a toy was introduced by Anzengruber into his story Sein Spielzeug. Ibsen developed the same theme in A Doll's House which has frequently been compared with Anzengruber's play Elfriede.

Arranged matches are not infrequent - especially among farmers' families. It amounts almost to farm marrying farm as in 's Jungferngift where the marriage of Regerl and Simi Simmerl was proposed by their mothers, when the two were still infants. The attitude is the same in Der Meineidbauer and Der Sternsteinhof, and in Die Kameradin where the Mooshof is to marry the mayor's holding - that is Hüblinger Anton is to wed Juliana, the mayor's daughter. This forced match ends when the mayor discovers that Juliana's child is not her husband's. Marriages which result from a desire to please a parent are not always happy but stand a good chance of success. In Der Versuchung unterlegen Olga, the town-bred wife of young Peter Waizhofer, a farmer, has married

him, because her mother on her deathbed had begged her to do so, out of gratitude for charity shown them by Peter's father. Peter remarks bitterly that he had asked her to give, not to sell herself to him. In time true affection does spring up between them. Gustav in Elfriede has permitted himself the pleasure of providing his mother with the daughter-in-law she desires, and Hedwig Mutterer, obeying her parents, marries Stolzenthaler. Two of these marriages turn out well but the third ends by wrecking lives. Gustav considers himself entitled to his love affairs, answering his mother's reproaches thus:

'Was können Sie gegen mich haben? Sie wollten eine Schwiegertochter nach Ihrem Herzen, als gehorsamer Sohn habe ich sie Ihnen gegeben; ich bin so galant, als es sich eben schickt, Sorge für ihren Komfort auf das aufmerksamste und überlasse noch zudem den ersehnten Gegenstand, um das Vergnügen nicht zu schmälern, ganz der Disposition meiner besten Mutter.'<sup>1</sup>

He adds when he is alone,

'Ja freilich, meinen Sie, wenn man nur einmal im Netze sitzt, dann wird sich schon alles geben; aber liebe, kluge Leute, die Ehe ist doch ein Netz mit grossen Maschen - sehr grossen Maschen!'<sup>2</sup>

Elfriede is not satisfied with clothes and comforts. She objects to being treated as a plaything or an overgrown child when she longs to be a wife in the true sense of the word. Seven years of marriage have brought the realisation of her wish no nearer, and so she asks for her freedom. Gustav tries to win her back with the magic word 'Pflicht'. But like Nora in A Doll's House, she no longer acknowledges her 'holiest duties' to husband and family. Gustav admits,

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<sup>1</sup> Elfriede, Act I, sc.6. Vol.V, p.11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act I, sc.7. Vol.V, p.13.

'Wir haben uns nicht geliebt, wir haben uns ja nur geheiratet, ein Handel.... Und seien wir aufrichtig, diese unsere Ehe war nicht besser und nicht schlimmer, als die meisten es sind; man lebt dahin ein Leben in Bequemlichkeit und Genuss, ohne Poesie und Inhalt.'<sup>1</sup>

After this crisis, however, they intend to place their marriage on the firmest foundations of mutual love, understanding and companionship, united as good parents against two enemies of wedded bliss, 'Männerhochmut' and 'Frauenlaune'.<sup>2</sup>

Hedwig Hutterer as a dutiful daughter consents to marry young Stolzenthaler, although she is in love with her music teacher, Robert Frey. Stolzenthaler, corrupt and rotten as he is, feels his pride wounded and refuses to believe that she has been forced to take him. He thinks she has married him for his money and declares that that is a greater meanness than anything for which she could upbraid him. Hedwig points out that he has spoiled her pleasures, music and reading, calling them boring and useless. Finally she cries in anguish,

'An der Wiege des Kindes, - das dort hinsiecht und vergeht, statt zu gedeihen - sage ich Ihnen, so lässt sich kein Weib um sein Mutterglück betrügen! Das trägt keine, die Ärmste, die elendste nicht, nicht um alles Geld!'<sup>3</sup>

For all their child's misery and the grief of others concerned Hedwig's parents are to blame. It was all so unnecessary as Stolzenthaler himself points out.

Partly to blame for the Hutterers' choice is social convention. Sidonie, Hedwig's mother at first pleads for Frey, but her husband

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<sup>1</sup> Elfrède, Act III, sc.1. Vol.V, p.44.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.48.

<sup>3</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act II, sc.10. Vol.V, p.204.



replies scathingly,

'Bist du a gute Mutter? Redst du mir zu, unser einzigs Kind an ein Hungerleider zu verheiraten?'

He wonders how

'zwei Geschöpfe von so ein himmelweiten Abstand auf die Lieb verfallen, wo sich das eine aufdrängen und das andere wegwerfen muss?'.<sup>1</sup>

Class differences are pettily upheld in Alte Wiener, where Kunigunde Schmalhofer cannot bring herself to say 'Gnädige Frau' to a girl who had worked in her husband's factory, before she married Anton Käsmeier, a well-to-do house proprietor. Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell treats of the topical problem of the new middle class merchants and industrialists who clamoured for admittance to 'society'. Heinrich Wengert, foreman in a factory, has been made its owner by legacy. He proposes to Marien Weissberg who accepts him, because her family is poverty-stricken. Her relatives are parasites on Heinrich's prosperity and at the same time keep man and wife apart by continually stressing social differences. In the end love and respect conquer. Marie accepts her husband's station by a symbolic action - she takes his lunch to the factory in a basket in imitation of other workers' wives. Society sets a certain standard for those who are choosing partners for life. In Die Kameradin Herr Fischer reminds his son that, for a man in his position, an uneducated country girl without means is not, according to social standards, a very suitable match. Gustav replies that he is free to select either a wild or a garden flower. He does not intend to entertain on a lavish scale and so the

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.4. Vol.V, p.155.

graceful manipulation of teacups and the lisping of witty remarks is not necessary. He is quite sure on the other hand that Br<sup>i</sup>gitte will be an excellent mother to his little Auguste. In Anzengr<sup>u</sup>ber's opinion the only thing which really constitutes a misalliance is not social disparity but incompatibility of temperament.

Marriage out of love for the mother of an illegitimate child is offered Vroni by the farm-bailiff in Der Meineidbauer and Helene by Muckerl in Der Sternsteinhof. Vroni rejects the bailiff's suit and bears another child to the farmer of the Kreuzweghof, who promises to marry her but dies, so that Vroni ends her life in disgrace and poverty. Helene accepts the woodcarver, Muckerl, to escape censure. In Ein Wiedersehen and Die Herzfalte Anzengruber gives examples of girls whose lives are ruined by forced marriage to their seducers. Annerl in Diebs-Annerl wishes the crippled Poldl to wed her for the sake of their child. She overcomes the temptation to steal and he is inspired and encouraged to work for the child. They work hard and earn the respect of the other villagers. The story Eisblumen is about the couple who live in the last cottage in the village. The misery of the peasant, Steffel, and of his wife dates from the death of their child sixteen years ago. Husband and wife have grown away from each other and he spends most of his time in the inn. She drags on her life, listless and dirty, so that he finds her <sup>too</sup>dirty <sup>to</sup>beyond comforting. The lesson is surely that a marriage should not be built upon children alone, but upon the lasting affection of husband and wife. A glimpse of domestic bliss is afforded us amid all the excesses of Früher Tod

in the modest home of a woodcutter and his wife, Hanne. Leopold Niederreiter reflects that Hanne could have saved him from a wasted life and an early death. She, like his mother, is 'ein Geschöpf, dem Liebe und Pflicht alles war, das den Genuss wie Dank abhinnahm und alles Leid als Prüfung.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber, however, repudiates the idea of marriage as a corrective institution. If a man has led a bad life before marriage, things become worse afterwards. Aphorism 570 claims, 'Wenn ein Ehemann Vormänner gehabt hat, so hat er sie leicht auch als Nebenmänner.'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber deplores the state of society which allows men who have sown their wild oats to demand young, innocent girls as wives.

Teufelsträume, Die Totenbeschwörung and Alte Wiener contain Anzengruber's views on intermarriage and remarriage. Lord Edward Knuddl in Teufelsträume, degenerate scion of generations of intermarriage, is to marry, on the advice of some old relatives, a blooming, young grover's daughter. The relatives had become very tolerant - perhaps after having read Darwin. As there is no promise of a child they separate. In the second story problems confronting a second husband are humorously examined, and in the last mentioned those with which a second wife is faced. New trends of thought arising from Darwinism lead Anzengruber to consider suggestions such as selective breeding and contraception. This is evident from remarks made for instance in Aphorism 526:

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<sup>1</sup> Früher Tod. Vol.XIV, p.483.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 570. Vol.VIII, p.168.

'Die Mädchen und Frauen müssen herangezogen werden zur Auswahl der Männer, mit welchen das Geschlecht fortzupflanzen ist, und zur Ausscheidung jener, die das Verbrechen, Krankheiten usw. weiter verpflanzen würden. - Ehe das nicht geschieht, ist alle Verbesserungsidee der Welt - Utopie. Erst das Material, dann die Arbeit! Soll das dem Zufall überlassen bleiben!! Das Bedeutendste! Mittel zur Verhütung des Schwängerns!'<sup>1</sup>

In Die Kameradin Anzengruber mentions that Tante Helene had never thought of marrying, because she did not want hunchbacked descendants. Brigitte, she notes approvingly, had fine teeth and is well built, healthy and strong. Her children will probably inherit these good points. Anzengruber has repeatedly urged an investigation into the quantity and quality of the nation's children. In Aphorism 612 he warns,

'Das Proletariat merkt sich freilich, das aber macht sich keine Sorge um die Erziehung, die Sitte gewinnt nichts dabei, der Staat kommt zu kranken, unwilligen Elementen, die ihn nicht anerkennen, ausser wo er gibt, ihnen jedoch nie genug.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber's works all show clearly that he places purity and loyalty at the head of his list of desirable qualities in a wife. Fragment 517 gives a picture of actual conditions:

'Als er da die Mädchen - die künftigen Mütter des Volkes - teils aus Dummheit, teils aus brutaler Gier, teils aus Erwerb - von einem Arm in den andern übergehen sah ... und sich dachte wie endlich, in welchem verwilderten oder abgestumpften Zustande diese Geschöpfe endlich ins Ehebett kommen, da übermannte ihn Ekel über dieses Durcheinander der Welt.'<sup>3</sup>

He reflects in Aphorism 560 that the pure, madonna-like woman must respect ~~her~~ body when she realises that she can give life.

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<sup>1</sup> Gott und Welt. Vol.VIII, p.157.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 612. Vol.VIII, p.179.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 517, Vol.I, p.538.

'Wenn die Frauen nummehr anfangen, nicht mehr allein die unterhaltenden Unterhaltenen sein zu wollen, ein Standpunkt, der sie ohnehin nur, was die Zahl der Erhaltenden anlangt, von den öffentlichen Dirnen unterscheidet bei denen es bekanntlich die Menge machen muss, wenn auch die Reichen nicht um Geld gefreit werden wollen, daher arm und reich des Frauenstandes nach Erwerb und Bildung ringt, so hat das auch in ökonomischer Richtung sein Gutes: je selbständiger das Weib, je nichtiger, verbrauchter erscheint die obige Entschuldigung für Wohldienerei und Käuflichkeit.'<sup>1</sup>

In this Aphorism 547 and other aphorisms and fragments Anzengruber discusses the movement towards the emancipation of women which was much in evidence during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Holberg at the beginning of the century reports, 'The English prefer their liberty to everything else; and none are in this nation slaves, with the exception of the married women.'<sup>2</sup> This was true of other countries too. Anzengruber does not entirely approve of the Emanzipation der Frauen as he calls Aphorism 545. 'Ihr habt lieb zu sein, sonst nichts. Uns zu Menschen zu machen.'<sup>3</sup> He admits, however, that those who are planning social reforms ought to enlist the aid of women, for only then will reforms, which demand self sacrifice have any chance of being successful. He attaches great importance to the education of women, for they have to bring up children. 'Die Frauenerziehung ist daher das Wichtigste - vom ethischen und hygienischen Standpunkte.'<sup>4</sup> The status of women in society is important for their standing when they marry, Instead of being subordinate to their husbands as their lords

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 560. Vol.VIII, p.165.

<sup>2</sup> Niels Klim's Subterraneous Travels. Holberg's Journey from the Latin of Lewis Holberg, London 1828.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 545. Vol.VIII, p.161.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 548. Vol.VIII, p.163.

and masters they claim equality. Equality of education Anzengruber acknowledges as a great advance. A man should not feel that marriage simply means being bound to a woman's apron-strings, 'Kindergeschrei, dö dreidoppelte Arbeit und siebnsiebenfache Sorg zwegen 'm Auffuttern und Fortbr<sup>n</sup>igen,'<sup>1</sup> as Martin ruefully expects in Die Trutzige. Gustav in Elfriede expects an ideal wife to be a companion, a helpmate to her husband. This demand is echoed in Aphorism 577,

'Nur der Ernst des Lebens kann ein Weib bei seiner Pflicht erhalten; wenn sie nicht die Gehilfin des Mannes sein kann, ist sie so gut wie moralisch ungebunden. Sorge, gemeinsame Sorge - nicht gemeinsame Lust ist der Kitt der Ehe.'<sup>2</sup>

Woman's new claims to independence render her more fit to be man's companion and more able to safeguard financially the security of the home. Anzengruber agrees with Ibsen that marriage must not destroy the personality of the wife and mother.

'Zwei Leute müssen sich alles sein, gewesen sein und bleiben, dürfte keines einem andern angehört haben, noch angehören.'<sup>3</sup>

Fidelity in marriage is regulated by law but not unfortunately by nature. The extract from Aphorism 569 defines Anzengruber's ideal, 'Der Monogamie reinste Form'. Behind the façade of marriage much abuse is to be found. There are children who enjoy the screen of the father's name and yet are none of his, and wives maintained by their husbands but shared with other men. Anzengruber claims that this corruption is most frequent in the upper classes, which is a dangerous example to servants and others of the lower classes who are wont to

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<sup>1</sup> Die Trutzige, Act III, sc.4. Vol.IV, p.442.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 577. Vol.VIII, p.169.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 569. Vol.VIII, p.168.



imitate their 'betters'. In Alte Wiener, However, Sali, the maid, behaves better than either her mistress or the daughter of the house. More than once Anzengruber writes of school friends who <sup>later</sup> seduce ~~their~~ friends' wives. The condition of the upper classes is discussed under the heading Weibergemeinschaft in Fragment 229.

'Und was ist's anders als bitterer, galliger Neid der in Niedrigkeit gehaltenen Kasten, wenn dieselben schreien, es sei das jedenfalls natürliche System der Weibergemeinschaft nicht vorhanden auf der Welt?! ... - und die Art Gemeinschaft des Haben-Könnens des gewollten ist in den distinguierten Kreisen schon gang und gäbe.'<sup>1</sup>

There are roués who, like cuckoos, leave their offspring for others to rear. The fact that children are taken care of prompts the young roué in Fragments 284, 285 and 288 to perfect the art of seducing married women.<sup>2</sup> In Fragment 285 he offers a titbit of advice: to attract married women one must play the opposite of the husband. A childless marriage may tempt a woman to break her marriage vows as in Fragments 258, 269 and 474.<sup>3</sup> The children's reactions are varied. They may take the part of the guilty mother against the **weak** or coarse husband. Children's morals can be corrupted very easily if they see close friendships between their mothers and other men, but even in the case of grown up children the effect is bad, and may mean a scandal in the home and social prejudice against them.<sup>4</sup> In Fragment 46 Anzengruber comments bitterly on a case of adultery in Berlin,

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 229. Vol.I, p.442.

<sup>2</sup> Fragments 284 and 285. Vol.I, p.466; Fragment 288. Vol.I, p.467.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 258. Vol.I, p.455; Fragment 269. Vol.I, p.458; Fragment 474. Vol.I, p.526.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 246. Vol.I, p.448.

"Das Weib wird Mann und Kinder verlassen und dem Liebhaber nachfolgen". (Aber die Kinder des ersten und die des zweiten?!)<sup>1</sup>

Two of the most sordid reasons for adultery are to make money or even to obtain promotion. Some men even stoop to urging their wives to sell their bodies as does Herr Hobichler in Der gekränkte Gatte, who badgers his wife into having an affair with the lodger and then lives well on the latter's money. The sixth verse of the song in the second part of Ausm gewohnten Gleis tells of a petty official's promotion.

'Ein Mann der lang im Amte sass  
In unterster Diätenklass  
Tut plötzlich froh und lächelt schlau:  
"Bei unserm Chef war meine Frau,  
Die weiss genau,  
Dass endlich mit Nächstem ich sicher vorrück!"  
Bedenkliches Glück!<sup>2</sup>

Fragments 76-9 are a rough sketch of a farce, Wahlumtriebe, which reveals election tricks. In Fragment 79 the candidate enlists his wife's aid,

'Liese! Du musst freundlich tun mit dem Herrn Baron.  
Das verlangst du von mir?  
Das Vaterland verlangt dieses Opfer und meine Ehre....<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber in Fragments 231, 465 and 466 studies the feelings of an unfaithful wife.<sup>4</sup> The riskiness, secretiveness and excitement, the feeling of triumph and superiority all appeal to her. Contempt or madness should be the lot of these geese, fit prey for the fox, Anzengruber declares. And yet in Aphorism 601 he attempts to excuse

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 46. Vol.I, p.345.

<sup>2</sup> Ausm gewohnten Gleis, Abt.II, sc.5. Vol.VI, p.134.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 79. Vol.I, p.365.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 231. Vol.I, p.443; Fragment 465. Vol.I, p.523; Fragment 466. Vol.I, p.523-24.

women to some extent.

"Mehr Versuchung zum Ehebruch muss die Frau zu bestehen haben als der Mann, denn die laxen Gesellschaftsmoral die verbotene Frucht zu einer unter Umständen höchst erlaubten Näscheri macht; aber das Weib, das alles, Ruf und Stellung und Zukunft daransetzt und alle List und Schlaueit aufwenden muss zur Verheimlichung - "1

In Aphorism 602 he pities women who sin out of passion, and pours scorn upon those who 'um Geld oder einer Laune willen die Ehe [brechen]'.<sup>2</sup>

Crime may result from adultery as from any other kind of sexual excess. Suicide is resorted to by the woman who is divorced by her husband and betrayed by her lover in Fragment 489,<sup>3</sup> by the disappointed husband in Aus der Spielzeugwelt who broods over his wife's faithlessness so much that he loses his job, by the fourteen year old Ilona Karay who took her life, because her father did not live with his wife, her mother, but with another woman. The last mentioned was reported in two newspapers dated the 11th and 14th February 1881 and Anzengruber planned to write a story about the incident.<sup>4</sup> Duelling is another possible sequel to adultery. In Fragment 476 the husband is shot by his wife's lover.

Hand und Herz presents a situation in which we feel that Katherine's second marriage, bigamous as it is, is true marriage, and the first, although sanctioned and upheld by the Church, is a mistake. Anzengruber denies the right of the Church to interfere between husband and

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 601. Vol.VIII, p.175-6.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 602. Vol.VIII, p.176.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 489. Vol.I, p.530.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 245. Vol.I, p.447.

wife. Divorce is a matter of individual responsibility. As Hof-sänger Huber Anzengruber composes a poem about a French couple, Hermance and Henry, who try to obtain a divorce. Their suit is filed as the 4,017th. There is no news for six months and the two are found dead on the tar macadam facing in the direction of the law courts.<sup>1</sup> In another Hofsänger Huber ballad Anzengruber reports on the costly divorce settlement between the opera singer Nicolini and his wife. He wishes to marry Patti, another opera star. Anzengruber reflects, 'Treu käm billiger!'<sup>2</sup> Having discussed the cost of divorce and the lengthy preamble to separation he prescribes a cure for strained matrimonial relations in Fragment 93, Lustspielmotiv: Familienarzt.

'Erst die Sehnsuchtsqual des Zusammenkommens durch eine Trennung wieder erwecken. Ich studiere das an Vögeln. Man nimmt sie für eine Weile auseinander, sondert sie ab, bis sie wieder nacheinander verlangen, und trennt sie, wenn sie wieder streiten.'<sup>3</sup>

With this whimsical suggestion for effecting a reconciliation and more serious advice Anzengruber aims at making an ideal institution, which rarely works out ideally, at least run smoothly.

Anzengruber in his discussion of problems of love and marriage thinks first of the children. It is for them that he desires happy marriages and home life, medical research to restrict their numbers and improve their health, and social help for, and tolerance of the illegitimate and prostitutes who are often the outcome of evil social

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<sup>1</sup> Wiener Luft, 1884, Nr.32, 9.August. Unser Hofsänger (Huber). Vol. XV/II, pp.223-5.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener Luft, 1885, Nr.30, 25.Juli. Das Lob der Treue. Balladenlied des Hofsängers Huber. Vol.XV/II, pp.244-5.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 93. Vol.I, p.370.

conditions. Above all he wishes for improvement of these conditions which turn society into a 'Sumpf' that he wants to see drained. He regards the emancipation of women with mixed feelings, but wholeheartedly approves of the new, fuller companionship which is now possible between men and women. Better education of women, he thinks, will benefit the coming generation and raise society's morals and standards of hygiene. Like Shaw, Anzengruber advocates divorce, although he would probably not go so far as to say with Shaw, 'Divorce, in fact, is not the destruction of marriage but the first condition of its maintenance.'<sup>1</sup> Just as Anzengruber believes that a seducer should not necessarily marry a woman whom he has seduced, if such a marriage would plunge him into lifelong misery, he thinks that marriage ought not to continue as an instrument of torture. He would like marriage to be a harmonious partnership built on mutual help, understanding and care for children. He is inclined to agree with the Bishop in Shaw's play Getting Married that 'unless the law of marriage were first made human, it could never become divine.'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber wants a more human form of marriage to be attained, not by Shaw's proposal to relax the marriage laws, but by the hard work of two responsible individuals who realise when they found a family that society rests on the family and the fate of the nation and of mankind.

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<sup>1</sup> Getting Married by G.B. Shaw, London 1947, p.237 of the Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Getting Married by G.B. Shaw, London 1947, p.298.

CHAPTER FOUR.

ANZENGRUBER AND THE PEASANTS.



Anzengruber is best known as a writer of peasant tales. Most people who know anything of him usually say, 'Ah der österreichische Bauerndichter.' Why should this be? The answer is probably that his peasant characters and above all his 'originals' like der Steinklopferhanns, old Zulehner in Örtler and the light-fingered Hubmayr in Der Fleck auf der Ehr appealed to people and were therefore remembered by them. There was in any case a widespread interest in peasants at that time, which would have secured Anzengruber plenty of readers for his rustic plays and stories, even if they had not been distinguished by a certain charm.

Although Anzengruber had not the same first-hand knowledge of peasants and peasant ways and problems as he had of the city and city-dwellers, many people, including his Styrian contemporary, Rosegger, were impressed by the general verisimilitude of his descriptions of peasant life. Others, among them Auerbach, criticised his work. 'Ja sogar das Landleben ist bloss Lüge'<sup>1</sup> is one of Auerbach's criticisms of Anzengruber's play, Der ledige Hof. Anzengruber was city born and bred and so the extraordinary understanding which he displayed for peasant ways and characters is often ascribed to heredity, for on his father's side he came of Upper Austrian farming stock. At one period only did he come into contact for any length of time with rural Austria - during his 'Lehr- und Wanderjahre 1859-70' which he spent touring the provinces as a member of a theatrical troupe. More important than his

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<sup>1</sup> Auerbach und Anzengruber by Anton Bettelheim, p.9.

peasant ancestry was the influence of other writers of 'Dorfgeschichten'. Anzengruber once claimed that he stood on Auerbach's shoulders, and we know that he sometimes asked Rosegger to help him with details of peasant costume and work.

Anzengruber's literary aims in using the 'Dorfgeschichten' and peasant characters were practical; he wished to provide his didactic messages with the simplest background and interpreters possible. He wrote to Julius Duboc about his first success, a rustic play, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld,

'Er wurde eine „Bauerntragödie“, weil er seinem Stoffe nach nirgends anders hin zu verlegen war, als in jene Kreise des Volkes; ebenso alle anderen sogenannten Bauerntragödien.'<sup>1</sup>

Since he wanted in the first place to educate and reform the peasantry and help mankind as a whole to progress, he did not confine himself to one locality and try to make it known to or appreciated by his readers. The setting of most of his peasant stories and dramas is vague - somewhere in Bavaria or Upper Austria. It is the peasant community everywhere and nowhere, in which the problems discussed are universal and even the dialect spoken (sometimes referred to as 'Anzengruberisch') is generalised. Here Anzengruber sacrificed realism to his desire to be understood by as many people as possible.

In letters, in the introduction to his Dorfgänge, and in conversation we find assertions that the country scene and the peasant characters are but means to an end.

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<sup>1</sup> Briefe Bd.I, Nr.211, p.290.

'Ich habe mir zuerst den idealen Bauern konstruiert aus Hunderten von Begegnungen und Beobachtungen heraus und dann realistisch variiert nach all den gleichen Erfahrungen; ein eigentliches Studium hatte ich ihm nie gewidmet, ich fasste ihn mit einem Griffe. Ich behandle alle Charaktere so, ich nehme erst den Menschen, hänge ihm das Standeskleid um, und dann gebe ich ihm so viel von der gewöhnlichen lokalen Umgebung, als sich mit den künstlerischen Intentionen verträgt.'<sup>1</sup>

Rosegger in his Gute Kameraden repeats part of a conversation with Anzengruber in which the latter protests,

'Ich bin nicht dafür vorhanden, dass ich naturwahre Bauerngestalten mache, sondern ich schaffe Gestalten, wie ich sie brauche, um das darzustellen, was ich darzustellen habe.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber's lessons are clothed in the garment of fiction but his didactic purpose often peeps out. He makes use of the countryside and the peasantry as a simplified state of society and mankind, in which fundamental problems are most clearly seen. This he compares in the last paragraph of his novel, Der Sternsteinhof, to a demonstration,

'an einem Mechanismus, der gleichsam am Tage liegt ...' as contrasted with one 'den ein doppeltes Gehäuse umschliesst und Verschnörkelungen und ein krauses Zifferblatt umgeben; wie denn auch in den ältesten, einfachen, wirksamsten Geschichten die Helden und Fürsten Herdenzüchter und Grossgrundbesitzer waren und Sauhirten ihre Hausmeister und Kanzler.'<sup>3</sup>

From these points the main differences which separate Anzengruber from contemporaries such as Gotthelf, Auerbach and Rosegger are apparent. Anzengruber shows no attachment to any one particular area to correspond to the Emmental, the Black Forest or Rosegger's Alpi and its Styrian surroundings - the favourite canvases for the three writers mentioned. It is the same with the dialect Anzengruber chooses.

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<sup>1</sup> Briefe I, hrsg. von Anton Bettelheim, Stuttgart u. Berlin 1902. Nr.211, p.291.

<sup>2</sup> Gute Kameraden by P.K. Rosegger, Leipzig 1916, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> Der Sternsteinhof. Vol.10, p.370.

Aiming to be enlightened, didactic and realistic he might have agreed wholeheartedly with a Scottish writer of village stories who wrote:

'It is a very fine thing for poets to sing of the pleasures and happiness of a rural life. With them our peasant seems a being wrapped from dewy morn till vesper's glorious tints in the enjoyment of simple but admirable delights. I wish there had been less singing and more sense in reference to our peasantry.'<sup>1</sup>

No matter how the colourful village customs and their quaintness appealed to Anzengruber's contemporaries who tried to save them from extinction by the encroaching standardisation of modern life, he refused to admire them, far ~~more~~ to attempt to preserve them. These rusticities he said were stones in the peasants' shoes and should be cast out. But his art played tricks on him. Many of his backgrounds did turn out fresh and attractive; the 'backward' peasants came to life with admirable individual, even prepossessing qualities.

It would seem improbable that Anzengruber could talk with Rosegger of 'Weltgift', one of the latter's favourite words, and yet in dealing with peasant problems Anzengruber discusses not only the stagnating, egoistic, ignorant, narrow-minded, superstitious peasants but also the corrupt towns and their hard drinking, luxury loving, idle, immoral industrialists, politicians, rich estate owners and priests bent on exploiting their country brothers.

Anzengruber's Örtler is the best illustration of his attitude in theory and of its practical result. The story opens thus:

'In den Dörfern und Städtchen des Flachlandes, die alle untereinander durch Land und Wasserstrassen und Schienenstränge in Verbindung stehen, wo manch kleiner Ort Dampfschiffahrts-, Eisenbahn- und Poststation zugleich ist - der Telegraph versteht

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<sup>1</sup> Peasant Life (being sketches of the villagers and field-labourers of Glenaldie) by M. MacLennan, Edinburgh 1869. Introduction p.xxi.

sich von selbst -, da findet man wohl selten mehr einen Menschen, der in seinem Geburtsorte alt geworden, ohne über denselben hinausgekommen zu sein; solche echte 'Ortschafter' oder 'Örtler' mag es nur noch in einer Siedlung tief im Gebirge geben..., in jenen entlegenen Erdwinkeln, wo abge-sondert von jeder Lüftung, vieljahundertjährige Dummheit währte und gährte, derselbe schale Spass und stumpfe Ernst, dieselbe Spruchweisheit, unangenehm derbe Geradheit und hinterhältige Verschmitztheit wie bei den Vorvordern bestand, dürfte es bald anders bestellt sein, der echte, rechte Örtler wird aussterben, und das soll just nicht beklagt werden.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it is in this very story that Anzengruber creates the character of the old father Zulehner and, in spite of his declared intention to present one of the true, genuine crofters whose passing is not exactly to be regretted, gives us an old man well endowed with admirable qualities who captures our sympathies and arouses our respect. As a contrast we have his son who, spoiled by army life with its traditional wine and women, has lost the traditional peasant pride in possessing land. Anzengruber touches on the problem of 'the old folk' on farms whose fate he describes:

'Sein Erbe sperrte sodann den Alten in ein einsam Stübchen, fütterte ihn mit den Abfällen des Tisches, sah ihn am liebsten nicht vor Augen und gab ihm falls er über den Weg lief, just nicht freundliche Worte.'<sup>2</sup>

According to Dr. Rudolf Latzke<sup>3</sup> Örtler is so well told that the effect is different from that which the author of the introduction wanted to produce. Writing about the way old Zulehner, uncompromising and apparently unmoved, resists the onslaughts of his son, his neighbours and the promptings of his fatherly feelings, Latzke maintains that we

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<sup>1</sup> Örtler. Vol. XI, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 458-9.

<sup>3</sup> Anzengruber als Erzähler by Dr. Rudolf Latzke. Collected works, Vol. XV/I, pp. 544-5.

must admire his 'durchaus nicht vielhundertjährige Dummheit bekundenden Witz.' The tale as it stands, apart from the introduction, supports Rosegger's belief that much good may be lost if the old peasant traditions and character die out. It seems also to agree with Rosegger who declared that the peasant lad who finds himself on the downward path when he leaves his native village for the town is a growing social problem.

It was not only military service which forced the peasant lad to leave the land but also unsettled conditions, poverty and homelessness which prevailed after the feudal system of land tenure had been abolished in 1848. The peasants found to begin with that being emancipated was anything but a blessing or relief. Like the newly uncaged animal they were helpless, open to all kinds of abuse, for the bars had been restrictive but at the same time protective. Anzengruber wished to persuade the peasants that their position would soon improve and so he set out in 's Moorhofers Traum to show by contrasting the present with the bad old days that, instead of longing for the past, they should play an active part in fostering all progressive measures.

Moorhofer, is a stubbornly conservative farmer. He dreams of

'Acker-, Hand- und Fuss-, Stück-, Jagd- und Spann-Frönde, von Kirchen- und weltlichem, grossem und kleinem, Sack-, Blut- und Rott-Zehent....

'So war's also, dass einer vor lauter Arbeit für fremde Leute mit der eigenen gar nicht aufkommen konnte und vor lauter Abgaben an fremde Säckel nie etwas in den eigenen bekam!

"Fix h'nein", sagte der Moorhofer, "da seid ihr ja keine Bauern, nur zahlhafte Knecht!"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 's Moorhofers Traum. Vol.XIV, pp.230-232.



His great-grandfather of whom he is dreaming goes on to tell him that none of the peasants can read or write. They are completely in the power of their landlord and in the grip of superstition. After hearing that a sick woman is treated only with healing charms Moorhofer exclaims, 'Ös lebts nit nur wie's Vieh, ös seids auch so dumm wie 'sselbe!' He concludes that the good old days are bad and old, and 'dass jetzt, wo jeder selbst dazu sieht, wie er seine Sache fördere und worwärts bringe, der Bauer nicht zurückbleiben dürfe.'

Dr. Walter Schiff in his Österreichs Agrarpolitik seit der Grundentlastung examines agricultural problems in detail.

'Die Grundentlastung', he maintains, 'ist die allgemeine Voraussetzung der Probleme der modernen Agrarpolitik, nicht Gegenstand der Letzteren... Die alte, feudale Ordnung der ländlichen Verhältnisse ist mit einem Schlage vernichtet, an ihre Stelle ist die liberale Agrarverfassung, die besser Verfassungslosigkeit genannt werden könnte, getreten.... (die Geldwirtschaft verdrängt die Naturalwirtschaft.)'<sup>1</sup>

This last fact caused a great upheaval, involving buying and selling of land which might not otherwise have changed hands, and the peasants had to face the problem of usury, taxation and insurance on a larger scale than ever before. Scrapholders or 'gardeners' as Mrs. Trollope terms them had a grim struggle. She defines them as

'peasants who eke out the produce of their little patrimony by working as day labourers; but still having a stake in the agricultural game, the success of which depends upon their own skill and industry.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber describes their hard life in Das Wünschen. Kaspar

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<sup>1</sup> Österreichs Agrarpolitik seit der Grundentlastung by Dr. Walter Schiff. Tübingen 1898, vol.I, p.20.

<sup>2</sup> Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs. Frances Trollope. London 1837, Vol.II, p.271.

Michel Heiner, a scrapholder, has to beg and borrow and drudge to support his family:

In Armut bebauen, A Gütel nit gross  
Zum Ackern entlehn, Vom Nachbar 'es Ross.<sup>1</sup>

Taspar Michel turns to his rich neighbour, Hartl, for assistance.

Alone he cannot fend for his family.

'Pflügen sollte er seinen schmalen Ackerstreifen, und die Geiss, das einzige Vieh, das er hatte, war doch nicht recht anständig vor dem Pfluge. Konnte er sein Feld nicht rechtzeitig betreuen, dann mangelte wohl Winters über ihm samt Weib und Kind das Brot. Er bät um das Gespann Ochsen.'<sup>2</sup>

Domini in Für d'Katz, 's Gruss-Franzl in Die Märchen des Steinklopferhanns, the Kinningers in Unter schwerer Anklage and the many carriers like Fraudel and Hoisel-Loisel in Der Hoisel-Loisel are all members of the new rustic proletariat who live from hand to mouth by working for others. Just what the emancipated peasant had to face - new responsibilities, unwonted freedom - is described by J.H. Clapham in his book The economic development of France and Germany, 1815-1914:

'While his land and he with it were still the lord's property, it was to the lord's interest to repair his house, to see that he had enough wood from the manorial forest for all purposes and to take some care of him in misfortune. Now he must fend for himself in a cold world. Firewood he is entitled to; but if a free man wants to mend his barn he can buy timber and do it himself. If he falls into debt he can sell his land and go.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber hints at the problem of 'Landflucht' in his ~~two~~ stories Unrecht Gut and Örtler, in which two farmers' sons decide to give up

<sup>1</sup> 's Junferngift, IV Abteilung, sc.9. Couplet: verse 8. Vol.XIV,p.340.

<sup>2</sup> Das Wünschen. Vol.XIV, p.385.

<sup>3</sup> The economic development of France and Germany, 1815-1914 by J.H. Clapham. Cambridge 1921, p.45.

farming, but for detailed descriptions of this problem we have to read the works of Rosegger, especially Jakob der Letzte, which tells of farmers selling their land to a rich industrialist anxious to increase his new estate. We have already seen that Rosegger believed the close and constant contact with the native soil forms and at the same time sustains the peasant. If he is torn away from the security of his village, or uprooted from his holding, he may deteriorate morally and physically. Anzengruber, although professing to support any development which may dig the peasant out of his native mud and broaden his outlook, tells of three or four farmers' sons corrupted by their years of army service and of peasant girls ruined by the influence of towns.

A sign of the changing times in the country was that hard cash became increasingly important. Anzengruber does not approve as wholeheartedly as one might expect of money as a civilising factor. Money difficulties arising from competitive farming in which the small farmer was at a great disadvantage, the vagaries of the weather, heavy taxation and liberal economic policy, excessive drinking and sloth opened the door for the insurance agent or for the dread money-lender. Randinger's son-in-law in Die Herzfalte is a wastrel and a drunkard and so one day his daughter, Ursel, confesses to her father:

"Morgen fruh kommt's Gricht zu uns pfänden."

"Pfänden?" schrie Randinger, es riss ihn halb von seinem Sitze in die Höhe, dann sank er zurück und sass, die geballten Fäuste schüttelnd.... "Was macht's aus?"

Die Gefragte wandte scheu den Kopf ab und sagte zögernd:

"Es sein halt afm Haus - in alln - aber ohne Gricht und Advakat - funfzehnhundert Gulden."

"Der Lump - der Schuft - der elendige Lump", stiess der Alte keuchend hervor. "Nit nur sich richt er z'Grund, auch andere möcht er um das ihre bringen!"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Die Herzfalte. Vol.XII, pp.133-4.

Everywhere in the country the money-lender was at work. The much feared event, 'Pfändung', confronts the peasants in Anzengruber's Die Totenbeschwörung, Die Herzfalte and Zu Fromm.

While Liberal policy allowed cheap foreign corn to be imported, thus leaving the home-produced unprotected, taxes were made increasingly heavy. In Kärnten for example we are told,

'Getreidepreise sind im fortwährenden Sinken begriffen; Weizen sank von 1873-1878 von 16.70 fl. auf 10.65 fl., bis 1887 auf 7.70 fl.; Roggen von 13.57 fl. auf 6.15 fl.; Gerste von 11.35 fl. auf 8.30 fl.; so erlitten die wichtigsten Bodenprodukte einen Preissturz bis unter die Hälfte seiner Ertragsziffer, auf Grund welcher die Grundsteuer eingeschätzt wurde.'<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, as Anzengruber points out in Aphorism 703, 'Die Armut wurzelt in dieser Blut- und Schweiszsteuer.'<sup>2</sup> People had to fight against falling prices and still raise enough money to pay the taxes. The Neumayers in Zu Fromm who neglect their work for excessive religious devotions have to turn to a usurer.

'Und 's Geld fur d' Steuer müssen s' beim Juden aufnehmen... Es muss wieder Geld aufgenommen werdn, dösmal is aber der Mauschel so schlaun und lasst's Dargliehene grundbücherlich vormerken, und so habn dö mit einmal 'n Juden auf 'n Dach sitzen.'

'Dös is uns doch nahgangen, und dö Leuteln habn uns derbarmt, denn gewöhnlich dauert's mit lang, so kriecht so a Jud durch die Schindeln, is er nur erst auf 'm Boden, dann kommt er auch über die Treppen und zletzt in die Stubn und wirft d'Leut h'naus.'<sup>3</sup>

Gayda in his Modern Austria devotes a whole chapter to 'The New Farmer' in which he says of the Hebrew invasion:

'In the country it means a profound transformation of the traditional agrarian system. The old national and political life of the countryside is being broken up by economic factors.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das sociale Wirken der katholischen Kirche in der Diöcese Gurk (Herzogthum Kärnten) by Dr. Alois Cigoi. Wien, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 703. Vol.VIII, p.

<sup>3</sup> Zu Fromm. Vol.XI, pp.259-260.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Austria by Virginio Gayda. London 1915, p.169.

Aron Wolf in Zu Fromm is, however, interested in money, not in land. Not only Jews but also degenerate peasants lend money at high rates of interest and examples of these are given by Anzengruber in Unrecht Gut and Ein Mann den Gott liebt. In the latter story Des Traidmann Florl is able to take advantage of his countrymen's misfortunes:

'der Mann half, als guter Christ, allen und jedem im Orte, wenn auch zu unchristlichen Prozenten ... als Missjahre eintraten, Missjahre, die bei seinem geringen Besitzstande keinen Ausschlag gaben (he had inherited only a small holding from his father) aber seine Schuldner so gründlich ruinierten, dass er deren Grund und Boden billig an sich bringen konnte.'<sup>1</sup>

Faced with such conditions Anzengruber wished to promote the cause of insurance which, he thought, would put an end to many superstitious practices and to the spread of usury. Insurance at that time was far from being universally supported. Priests were inclined to represent insurance as an insult to God, as one may read in Auerbach's Lucifer and Anzengruber's Der reiche Haidbauer. This is what the pedlar in Der reiche Haidbauer has to say:

'Es braucht eins neuzeit nit's Himmel noch der lieben Heiligen Beistand und Hilf; mit was ihm Gott anwollt, mit Hagelschlag, Überschwemmen, Viehseuch, dagegen könnt mer sich in der ganzen Höh vom Schaden im vorh'nein versichern, und besser wie der heilig Florian mit sein'm kloan Wassersechterl wär d' Feuerassekaranz und mehrer so lasterliche Reden, Gott verzeih mer d' Sünd, dass ich dselben wiederhol....'<sup>2</sup>

Fire has always been a great danger for the peasants and many wooden houses bore a painting of St. Florian on the walls. Lizzie Selina Eden admired the pretty, painted wooden roofs but expressed her

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Mann, den Gott liebt. Vol.XIV, p.408.

<sup>2</sup> Der reiche Haidbauer. Vol.XII, pp.562-3.

approval of a reform law which forbade new houses to be roofed with wood, after she had seen 'the entire village of Aspern on the Danube burned in the short space of two hours.'<sup>1</sup>

Poverty was the most widely prevailing social problem and the main cause of friction between 'die Dicken' and 'die Mageren'<sup>2</sup> in Timmermans' terminology. Differences between rich and poor were still too pronounced and divisions within the peasant organisation too rigid. It was difficult to rise from the poverty-stricken farm labouring class. Unless an heiress or a farmer's widow married a farmhand or a farmer one of his maids the chances were slight. Eine Geschichte von bösen Spröchwörtern and Die Totenbeschwörung provide instances of fortunate farmworkers who rise by marriage and in Der Sternsteinhof the heir marries the poorest of the village girls. Inherited wealth raises a man's standing, too, as in Der Schandfleck, where a mill is bequeathed to an illegitimate child. Otherwise the poor remain needy and the rich continue to flourish. The injustice of the situation was beginning to dawn on the farm labouring class as it slowly became class conscious. Kaspar, a farm hand in 's Jungferngift, has to contend with a rich rival for the love of Regerl, a farmer's daughter. He complains,

'So, hitzt hätt ich mein Teil - und hon nix! Ei ja wohl, wenn so einer kommt, wie der von Steinbrunn, da muss ja unsereins 'n kürzern ziehn. Wie's doch zugeht af der Welt! Dumm kann einer sein, schiach kann einer sein, macht ihm alls nix, wann er nur nit arm is. Ah es ist kein Einteilung und a kein Austeilung. Der eine hat nix und der andere alles!'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> My Holiday in Austria by Lizzie Selina Eden. London 1869, p.135.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Breugel by Felix Timmermans. Insel Verlag 1950.

<sup>3</sup> 's Jungferngift, Act I, sc.5. Vol.IV, p.306.



Some parents were pitifully poor and to make matters worse large families were common among them. The children often had not enough to eat, and when they were old enough they had to leave home like Rosl in Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern and make their own way in the world. Rosl's parents ask a farmer to employ her as a maid 'damit sie nunmehr die von der Schüssel wegbekämen.'<sup>1</sup> Although she had had a religious upbringing she falls a prey to her vanity and her employer.

'Nie konnte sie so, wie sie war, es wagen, unter die zerlumpten nach Brot schreienden Geschwister vor die durch Not und Elend verhärteten und erbitterten Alten zu treten, sie musste fürchten Misshandlungen zu erliegen.'<sup>2</sup>

The children who had to grow up in such an atmosphere were at a great disadvantage. Often as with the children of the day labourer, Domini, in Für d'Katz the situation was as follows:

'wo dö schrein, so kriegn s'von der Mutter d'Lotteriezetteln zum spielen und vom Vatern Schläg, und dös wird fürs Schulgehn abgerechnet.'<sup>3</sup>

Poverty prevented large numbers of the agricultural population from living in weatherproof houses and their lot was made all the harder, since they had ever before their eyes the stately farmhouses - almost mansions - of the rich. Brunner in 's Jungferngift glowingly describes the farm owned by one of his daughter's suitors.<sup>4</sup> On the

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<sup>1</sup> Eine Geschichte von bösen Sprichwörtern. Vol.XIII, p.32.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.41.

<sup>3</sup> Für d'Katz. Vol.XIV, p.363.

<sup>4</sup> Austria by J.G. Kohl. London 1843, pp.102-4.

J.G. Kohl gives a detailed account of an Austrian farm, commenting, 'In many peasants' houses in this part of the country there are not less than forty rooms.'

first page of his novel , Der Sternsteinhof, Anzengruber depicts the last cottage in the village.

'Die letzte dieser Hütten war gar verwahrlost, der Türstock stand fast frei in der geborstenen Mauer, die Fensterrahmen hingen schief, hie und da guckte ein nackter Stein aus dem rauhen, verwitterten Anwurfe hervor, und wenn auch die ärgsten Risse und Sprünge mit Lehm verschmiert und mit Heu und Stroh verstopft waren, so machte das den Anblick nicht besser. Dahinter stieg ein schmaler Streif bearbeiteten Bodens hinan, bestellt mit etlichen Gemüsebeeten, einem Acker mit Krautköpfen und einem anderen mit Kartoffelpflanzen.'<sup>1</sup>

On page 51 there is a description of the Sternsteinhof which forms a glaring contrast to the tumbledown cottage in the valley below.

Little Helene who lives with her mother in the small hovel is shown over the farm. She admires its many rooms, the store of linen and clothes, the big locked cupboard full of silver and fine china,

'endlich die eiserne Kasse, der weder ein Dieb noch das Feuer ankonnte, worin der Bauer bar mehr liegen hatte, als alle Dörfler da unten zusammen mit Häusern und Gründen schwer waren.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber tells us of several cottages which bring the housing problem of the Austrian countryside to our notice. Hubmayr, the habitual thief, in Der Fleck auf der Ehr, speaks to the innkeeper about his landlady, 'Dös arme Luder friert zwischen Mäuern, an dö 's Wasser aberinnt.'<sup>3</sup> Many houses are dilapidated, because their owners are too poor to pay for repairs. Girgl's parents in Liesl, die an den Teufel glaubt make a brave attempt to keep their cottage weatherproof.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Sternsteinhof. Vol.X, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.51.

<sup>3</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act I, sc.3. Vol.II, p.191.

'Die Art, wie die Hütte in stand gehalten wurde zeigte von Geschmack und Geschick; über die Lücken des Schindeldachs waren Bretter genagelt, und die Mauern, welche stellenweise den Bewurf verloren hatten, waren ohne diesen zu ersetzen, mit frischem Kalke geweißt worden und sahen mit ihren Unregelmässigkeiten aus, als hätten sie Blatternarben.'<sup>1</sup>

Some peasants were possibly not so well housed as criminals or the cattle of the rich and they also had to work harder.

The main drawback about agricultural work is that it is seasonal. Although outdoor work is healthy enough it takes toll of the body.

'Die Botengängers Traudl war kein Jahr früher oder später auf die Welt gekommen als die Klosterhofbäuerin, jetzt aber, wo sie dieser gegenüberstand, sah sie darnach aus als hätte sie zehn Jahre länger gelebt: die Not, deren sie sich in ihrer Jugend durch harte Arbeit zu erwehren suchte, der sie später als Botengängerin in Sommerbrand und Frost zu entlaufen trachtete, hatte sie gezeichnet.'<sup>2</sup>

Hubmayr in Der Fleck auf der Ehr prefers prison to the hard lot of a farm labourer. His explanation to the innkeeper is to some extent an excuse for his behaviour.

'Woasst Wirt, weder Vieh noch Mensch is von Natur zum Arbeiten aufgelegt, dös muss derzwungen werdn.... Und was hätt i denn a davonda heraussten? Drinnet - ah, ja drinnet hab i mein gsunds trockens Wohnen, mei zureichends Essen, d'Reinlichkeit, kann im Hof Luft schnappen, und wann i krank werd, is der Doktor glei bei der Hand. Hat dös a Tagwerker?'

He goes on to tell of the hard struggle which his landlady, the Loiseringin, has for a living, an honest living -

'hat kaum trocken Brot z' fressen und muss d'Arbeit, womit s'ihre alten Knochen zsammrackert, von dö Bauern völlig derwinseln.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Liesel, die an den Teufel glaubt. Vol.XII, pp.197-8.

<sup>2</sup> Der Hoisel-Loisel. Vol.XI, pp.367-8.

<sup>3</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act I, sc.3. Vol.II, pp.190-1.

The fate of Gruss-Franz in Die Märchen des Steinklopferhanns is like that of thousands of peasant workers.

'Er war allerdings ein ehrlicher Arbeiter, er hatte nichts als seine Hütte, die Felder rings herum gehörten anderen, und wollte er von denselben etwas geniessen, so musste er dieses fremde Eigentum bearbeiten helfen. Ah, das trug spottwenig ein und es nahm den Menschen recht mit an Kraft und auch an Mut.'<sup>1</sup>

Gruss-Franzl, one of Anzengruber's most touching characters, is also an excellent example of Mrs. Frances Trollope's paradox 'that poverty and suffering should be the result of industry.' Poor country-folk cannot earn enough to buy food and firewood. Like the 'Körbelflechter-Kathrein' or Eva in Der starke Pankraz und die schwache Eva they gather berries, mushrooms and fir-cones in the wood - 'der Wald bleibt immer der armen Leut Wohltäter, er schenkt gar Manches fürs Haus.'<sup>2</sup>

Another problem is the care of the crippled and the aged. In Die Trutzige an old friend, a crippled soldier, comes to Liesel for help.

Liesel. Aber um aller Heiligen willen, wie du zugricht bist!

Anton. Jo, mit'n Reangaschieren is 's hitzt Rest. A Ross hat mer's antan. War mein Schuld. Ich bin gwarnt wordn. Der Arm hat weg müssen, der Fuss bleibt steif. - Ich wollt zu eng... In der Fremd hon ich's nimmer ausghalten. No steh ich ohne Unterkunft, ohne Kreuzer Geld. Ich wollt eng bitten, dass's mich bhält's, bis ich a Arbeit find.

Liesel. Du a Arbeit? Armer Toni!<sup>3</sup>

Steinklopferhanns also has received an injury from a kicking horse and is set to stone-breaking. Martin in Das Sündkind sums up the country dweller's philosophy:

'Die Welt ist nicht da zum Verlangen, und die Welt ist nicht da zum Entsagen, sie ist da - mein ich - zum Arbeiten.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Märchen des Steinklopferhanns. Vol.XIV, p.45.

<sup>2</sup> Der starke Pankraz und die schwache Eva. Vol.XI, p.325.

<sup>3</sup> Die Trutzige. Vol.IV, p.405.

<sup>4</sup> Das Sündkind. Vol.VI, pp.218-9.

But what of those who are too old or infirm to work? Each parish was responsible for the care of its poor old people.

'Es gibt wohl Dörfer, in welchen fast jedes Haus ein "Armen-Leut-Haus" ist, und wenn da einer noch obendrein sein Obdach verliert, so muss er jahrüber als sogenannter "Einleger" die ganze Gemeinde Hütte für Hütte durchwandern. Jeder hält ihn solange es eben an-gehen mag, und alle halten ihn schlecht; hat der Einleger die letzte Hütte verlassen, so spricht er wieder in der ersten zu, von beiden Teilen aber freut sich keiner sonderlich auf das Wiedersehen. Reichere Ortschaften halten so ein "Armen-Leut-Haus" wo der verschämte Arme Obdach und kärgliche Verpflegung findet und der unverschämte Bettler die letzte Zuflucht.'<sup>1</sup>

The petty quarrels and loveless atmosphere of the village poor-house are described in the tale Grünes Reis unterm Schnee, although not in such detail as in Hauptmann's Hanneles Himmelfahrt. Anzengruber pleads for true charity and brotherliness among men with regard to the aged poor. Grinding poverty is the excuse for uncharitableness in the story just mentioned, but then in an ideal state of society there would be no more indigence.

The land, religion and convention, are the three main colours in the peasant's life and character. Upon them rests the structure of peasant society, reflected as it is in each individual village admini-stration. Rich peasants, the priest, their forefathers are the most generally accepted teachers and so for many years the lot of the village schoolmaster was indeed unenviable - not enough money, scarcely enough respect and often no schoolhouse.

Emma Spröhnle in her dissertation, Die Psychologie der Bauern bei Ludwig Anzengruber, devotes her fourth chapter to "Bäuerliche Gebunden-heit".

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<sup>1</sup> Die arme Kathrin. Vol.XI, p.161.

She selects five points in illustrate her title: the closeness of the peasant to his land, land as a measure of respect, the narrowness of the peasant's horizon, the peasant's practicalness and his conservative attitude. The land itself is an all important consideration in the life of the peasants. In his essay on Anzengruber als Erzähler Latzke notes that Anzengruber comes in the course of his work to acknowledge that 'der echten Bauerngeschichte Hauptmotive sind eben nicht Liebe und Glaube, sondern Besitz und Bodenständigkeit.'<sup>1</sup> A peasant's thoughts and actions are dependent to a great extent upon the amount of his possessions and so we find in the Doppelselbstmord the jovial, generous Sentner self-confident because of his wealth, and the embittered, cautious, brooding Hauderer philosophising in his poverty. Altvater in his Deutsche Dorfgeschichte writes,

'In der Dorfgeschichte entspricht auch das Milieu (im engeren Sinne) ganz dem der bauerlichen Wirklichkeit. Der Hof und der Acker, der Besitz erweisen sich als die eigentlichen milieu-bildenden Faktoren. Von hier empfängt des Bauern gesamtes Denken und Tun Inhalt und Richtung. Von scheinbar unveränderlicher zeitloser Dauer ist diese Bauernwelt: wie es vor tausend Jahren gewesen ist, so war es vielfach bis vor kurzem noch, ehe die Maschinenkultur auch dieses Leben zu rationalisieren begann.'<sup>2</sup>

Land is often the standard by which the peasants measure their respect for one another. Anzengruber in Der Fleck auf der Ehr, in Unrecht Gut and Die Kreuzelschreiber shows the rich receiving preferential treatment in the village inn and their opinions predominating in the administration of the village and in political matters.

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<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber als Erzähler by Dr. Rudolf Latzke. Vol.XV/I, p.542.

<sup>2</sup> Deutsche Dorfgeschichte [Germanische Studien: Heft 88] by Dr. Friedrich Altvater. Berlin 1930, pp.17-18.



Gotthelf's Christen in Geld und Geist is well aware of his position:

'und wenn Christen es auch nie sagte, so dachte er es doch vielleicht manchmal wenn er im Wirtshaus auf einem Stuhl absass: „Hier setzen sich hunderttausend Bernpfund nieder.“<sup>1</sup>

Riches, however, do not confer a larger share of intelligence upon their owner. Anzengruber frequently demonstrates that the lowest on the social ladder are often more competent to lead the other villagers than the 'Grosskopfeten'. In Die Märgen des Steinklopferhanns and in the play, Die Kreuzelschreiber, it is a stone-breaker who solves the villagers' problems. On the other hand one of the most stupid characters in Anzengruber's works is Simi Simmerl in 's Jungferngift who has inherited from his forebears a very fine, wellstocked farm. 'Goldesel' is Anzengruber's name for him. Of course Anzengruber makes the rich out to be stupid, the poor intelligent, for the sake of propaganda. But the importance attached to worldly possessions has an effect upon justice and morals. Hauderer in the play, Doppelsebstmord, complains that the poor man is always in the wrong. Brigitte expresses resentment against the mayor in Die Kameradin whose treatment of her had been so unjust,

'und dann hat's mir die ganze Seele verbittert, dass er denkt, ich, nur ich misst schlecht sein, weil ich arm bin, und sein Dirn mit anders als brav, weil sie reich ist!<sup>2</sup>

Marriages, too, are arranged for the sake of land, so that it may be said one farm marries another.<sup>3</sup> Quarrels over land are frequent in rustic tales and Anzengruber like Keller relates the story of 'Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe' when he writes Unrecht Gut.

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<sup>1</sup> Geld und Geist by Jeremias Gotthelf. Erlenbach-Zürich, München und Leipzig, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol. XIII, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chapter on Problems of Love and Marriage, p. 104.

'Die paar Hufen Landes, die sein Fuss beschritt, waren die Erde,'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber wrote of the inhabitants of a remote village. Most villagers were still ill-informed about the world outside. Time moved slowly and opportunities for experience were restricted. Thus one could find hundreds like 'Die fromme Kathrin' who says to the storyteller,

'Da auf dem Fleck bin ich geboren, und auf dem Fleck Erd geh ich auch zur Ruh, von der andern Welt, so weit und nah sie herumliegt, weiss ich spottwenig.'<sup>2</sup>

Formerly that had been the fate of the majority of peasants. And so it comes about that the peasant character is in itself a problem. Anzengruber indicts the peasants of selfishness and narrow-mindedness, is impatient of their superstitions and the homage they unthinkingly pay to tradition and convention, but concedes their sound, uncorrupted judgment in many matters and their industry. The smallholder Kirninger in D' gsprächig Stund is typical of many farmers with his conservative attitude. Kirninger's holding is known as the 'Spruchhof'.

'Derselbe Kirninger hat allein afs Herkommen ghalten. In Haus und Wirtschaft, in Handel und Wandel is 's bei ihm ghalten worden wie zu Vaters und Grossvaters Zeiten; wo ein alter Nagel h'rausgefallen is, is ins gleiche Loch ein neuer h'neintrieben wordn, nur a weng a grösserer, und wobei der Bauer nit hat sagen können "wie hergebracht is", da hat er nix nit unternommen und auch bei andre nit gebilligt. Das war sein Sprüchel.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Örtler: Dorfgänge I. Vol.XI, p.457.

<sup>2</sup> Die fromme Kathrin. Vol.XI, p.163.

<sup>3</sup> D' gsprächig Stund. Vol.XIV, p.357.

Anzengruber points out two main influences which affect country folk. The first is the land, the second, religion. Björnson in his Synnöve Sobbaken writes about the Norwegian peasants and religion:

'Here in the little mountain valley the church has its special language for each age, its peculiar look to each eye; much may have been built up between the individual and it but never anything over it\*.... Therefore it is impossible to describe Norse peasants, corrupted or uncorrupted, without coming into contact at one point or other with the church.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber might easily have written these words about the Austrian peasants, but he was looking for the\*thing which could be built up over a church over a form of religion which, as it seemed to him, had kept the country folk long enough in a state of fearful subjection and degrading dependence. In Die Märchen des Steinklopferhanns and in the story Zu fromm he combats the 'Jenseitsevangelium' preached by the priests and insists that good work in this world is more of a recommendation than lengthy prayers which interfere with everyday duties. Priests like Eisner in the story of 'Einsam' sometimes exercise despotic powers and try to preserve unfairly, in Anzengruber's opinion, 'die gottgewollte Ordnung'. Alfred Kleinberg in his biography of Ludwig Anzengruber mentions the latter's masterly representations of the 'Hüllwerk von Fratzen und Masken, das Jahrtausende der Selbsttäuschung des Macht-hungers und Betrugs um die schlichte Keimzelle der Religion herumgebaut haben', and of the havoc created by the Austrian 'System' and the 'klerikale Volksverdummung'.<sup>2</sup> Franz Ferner in Der Meineidbauer voices

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<sup>1</sup> Synnöve Sobbaken by B. Björnson. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson, London 1884, p.48.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Anzengruber by Alfred Kleinberg, Stuttgart and Berlin 1921, p.164.

Anzengruber's views on peasant priests. He will not be forced, he says, to devote his energies to work which demands so much self-sacrifice and is so poorly paid. He says that many peasants' sons are coerced into becoming priests with no calling and no devotion, denied to family and fatherland 'als Bauern in der Soutane.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber furthermore ridicules the peasant conception of God in Ein Mann, den Gott liebt, Der gottüberlegene Jakob and Örtler. In the last mentioned Anzengruber satirically indicates how narrowness of outlook combined with self-seeking produce

'jene aufdringliche, ungeziemende Vertraulichkeit, die den "lieben Gott", den "guten Gott" auch für das Kleinste in Haus und Feld aufkommen lässt und verantwortlich macht.'<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps it is only in matters of religion that Anzengruber adopts a more or less consistent attitude, for apart from presenting one or two isolated good priests, he remains one-sidedly critical of the Catholic church's beliefs and practices. Anzengruber claimed that he was bitterly opposed to the power of convention, yet he often made progress appear frightening in its cruel, inhuman race. When a few people are persecuted by those who are despotically conservative, Anzengruber is obviously prejudiced against the conservative majority. In his works those who think for themselves, who dare to be different, are shunned by the other villagers. Rather than fly in the face of convention Huber in Wie der Huber ungläubig ward observes outward ceremonies which have no longer any meaning for him, for he has become

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act II, sc.3. Vol.III, p.51.

<sup>2</sup> Örtler. Vol.XI, p.457.

an unbeliever. The old grandmother, 'die Burgerlies', in Der Meineidbauer shows more mettle - clearly with Anzengruber's entire approval. She wishes to have nothing more to do with a society that tolerates injustice such as her family has suffered. The villagers avoid her 'gottlose Wirtschaft'. Levy, a Jewish pedlar, smugglers and occasionally poor woodcutters visit the inn. Levy admires its situation.

'Gott, was fer a reiche, weite Natur und was fer arme beschränkte Leut um Sie... Was hilft alle Gscheitheit gegen a alte Satzung?'<sup>1</sup>

Those in authority, like Bürgermeister Eisner, kept most villagers in subjection. Eisner dictated in Stahl und Stein:

'Wer Sündhaftigkeit halber uns nit taugt im Ort, der muss weg von da. Sö sölln nur's harte Brot in der Fremd essen. Bringt s'dös zur Vernunft und sö wölln wieder kämma und gut tun, so is's uns lieb und wir nehmen s' auf, aber wer nit in Züchten und Ehren unter uns leben will, der muss fort.... denn wer wider uns is, der findt bei uns a neama koan Anspruch, koan nachbarlich Handreichung und Hilfeleistung, er mag gehn, stehn oder falln, mir achten sein nit.'<sup>2</sup>

Another swag mayor in Die Kameradin is described thus:

'Aus seinem breiten Gesichte mit den borstigen Haarbüscheln über den Augen, der vordrängenden Unterlippe und den Hängebacken sprach deutlich bäurischer Hochmut und bäurisches Protzenthum.'<sup>3</sup>

His guiding principle is 'Wo wenig Gut, da wenig Ehr.'<sup>3</sup>

The village 'Honoratioren' are the priest, the mayor and the rich farmers. Their influence rests upon other people's fear, their own superior education and money. Anzengruber gives us two good

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<sup>1</sup> Der Meineidbauer, Act I, sc.8. Vol.III, p.27.

<sup>2</sup> Stahl und Stein, Act I, sc.2. Vol.III, p.194.

<sup>3</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, p.183.

examples of village dictators, one the mayor Eisner mentioned above, the other a priest of the same name. In the play Stahl und Stein, and the story Einsam in which they appear, their powers would have been curtailed if the peasants had united to defy them, but the villagers are too dependent and poorly educated to resist. These attributes make the peasants fair prey for unscrupulous political candidates too. Politicians as representatives of civilisation should receive Anzengruber's support, but again he seems to put forward arguments against them, because he is always warning the country folk against them. They are not to heed the ingratiating candidate nor the priest nor the wealthy farmer. For his comedy Die Kreuzelschreiber Anzengruber takes his plot from a newspaper report, according to Bettelheim. The Grossbauer von Grund<sup>l</sup>dorf badgers the inhabitants of Zwentdorf into signing a petition which displeases the priests. The conservative, submissive country folk in the inn are addressed thus by the Grossbauer:

'Ich bin eng bekennt als Freund von all rechtlichen Bauersleuten, ich bin eng bekennt als einer, der festhält an unsern alten Rechten, an unsern alten Bräuchen an unsern alten Glauben. Ös **wissts**, wie ich in der Art auch allweil darnach tan hab, wie ich gegen jede Neuerung war.... Ös wissts auch, dass seither ich's gewesen bin, der allmal unsern Wahlbezirk vor die liberalen Wolf geschützt hat, damit uns da nit auch die neu Judenlehr verdirbt: dass jeder könnt glauben und für recht halten, was er will! Kurz ös kennts mich, den Grossbauer von Grund<sup>l</sup>dorf!'<sup>1</sup>

The villagers all sign his document except Steinklopferhanns, who explains his refusal to add his cross to the others,

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kreuzelschreiber, Act I, sc.4. Vol.IV, pp.16-17.



'Sixt, wann ich so auf der Strass bei dö Steinhaufen hock, da schleichen dir 'n Tag über a Menge Leut vorbei; dö ausschaun wie 'n Tod seine Spion und dö fast neidig auf mich rüberschaun, wann ich so lustig draufklopf und sing, 's sein Tagewerker und Kleinhäusler, die sich so in Elend mit Weib und Kind fortffretten; schau, Grossbauer, wann d'a Gschrift brächst, wo drein stund: dö Grossen solln nit mehr jed neu Steuerzuschlag von innerer Achsel abschupfen dürfen; dass er den arm Leuten ins Mehlladel, in Eierkorb und ins Schmalzhäfen fällt, sondern sie sollen ihn, wie er ihnen vermeint is, die's haben, auch alleinig tragn - ah ja, Grossbauer, da setz ich dir schon meine drei Kreuzel drunter.<sup>1</sup>

In the end it is the Steinklopferhanns who saves the villagers from the priests' revenge.

The peasants themselves of course demand preposterous concessions.

Anzengruber laughingly reports on their wishes in Figaro:

'Da Bauernverein oba valongt, sich bloss a Nochsehn der Militärdienstpflichtigkeit, der Steuergelder, der Gerichtskosten, des Schulbesuchs und für d'Wocha znebm Sunntag sechs Freitag und oll Jahr, für d'Frummheit, 'n Kirtag afm Tog vom heiligen Kirchnpatron und fürn Patriotismus 'n Kaiserkirtag!<sup>2</sup>

In his guise of 'Da olti Hans-Michl' Anzengruber mentions further demands, again in Figaro. Hans-Michel's eldest brother is planning to go to the 'Bauerntog z'Wean'. His list reads:

'Erechtens, Abschaffung des stehenden Heeres, ... Zweitens, Abschaffung aller Steuern und Lasten und Errichtung von Unterstützungskassen für Missjahre auf Staatsunkosten... Drittens, Beschränkung der Wirksamkeit aller Behörden und Ämter auf deren Lokalsitz.<sup>3</sup>

From this list we can form an idea of the most pressing peasant problems. The army takes workers away from the land, heavy taxation cripples the smallholder and often delivers him into the hands of a usurer if the

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<sup>1</sup> Der Kreuzelschreiber, Act I, sc.6. Vol.IV, p.26.

<sup>2</sup> Figaro, Nr.34, 22. August 1885. Vol.XV/II, pp.247-8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Nr.15, 10. April 1886. Vol.XV/LL, p.273.

harvest is bad, while official control and meddling confuse the simple peasant. Anzengruber therefore insists that the country people should be better educated for their own good as well as to protect them from scheming politicians.

'Bei uns z' Haus am Land  
Gehts iazt soakrisch schon zua,  
Mit dö Wohl'n und dö Wähler  
Is ewi koan Ruh.

- - -  
Kimmt a Stodtherr so sagt er:  
„Wählts den, meiner Seel“,  
Und der Pforra schreit: „Wonns den wählts,  
Mussts alle in d'Höll!“. <sup>1</sup>

A glance at statistics drawn up by Sidney Whitman in his book The Realm of the Habsburgs two years after Anzengruber's death shows us that more than half of the population of Austria was engaged in work on the land. He compares Great Britain with a population of 38 millions of which 1,636,000 are engaged in agriculture, to Austria with her 21 millions of which 2,365,153 persons are landlords and tenants, 3,791,512 foremen and labourers, 5,697,076 members of the families of agriculturalists and 335,237 domestic servants.<sup>2</sup> Although the greater part of Austria's people lived the country life Anzengruber seemed to think that the minority, the townsfolk, had much to teach country dwellers. Rosegger was not the only one to complain of Anzengruber's attitude, telling us in Gute Kameraden that when he proposed a country visit Anzengruber

'gab mir auf solchen Vorschlag eine so ablehnende, nachgerade das Landleben verachtende Antwort, dass ich ebenso derb wurde und ausrief: Was das für ein Volksdichter sei, der das Volk meide!'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Humoristische Blätter, Nr. XXXI (Nr. 34, 5. Okt. 1873) Vol. XV/II, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> The Realm of the Habsburgs by Sidney Whitman, London 1893, Ch. XVI, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Gute Kameraden by Peter Rosegger. 6-10 Tausend, Leipzig 1916, p. 132.

The only thing which would prevent one from saying that Anzengruber believed that civilisation was to be found only in the towns, is what he has written himself on the subject of town and country, long rivals as they are in the arguments corrupt town - wholesome country or civilised town - backward country. What he might be said to want in theory would be 'urbanised' country and peasantry. But when he comes to write down his views we discover that most of what he has to say of the actual impact of modern developments on peasant life amount to an indictment of the dangers they bring. As a story teller Anzengruber attempts to put into practice the ideal he set for himself as a dramatist too, namely, to see a question from all sides, but he almost invariably tries to make his readers adopt his point of view. This combined with the pronounced critical streak in him could explain many of the contradictions which arise in his work as a 'peasant writer'. Neither town nor country is perfect. Progress is Anzengruber's goddess, as she was also of many other nineteenth century writers. He wanted to clear the way for her. The dangers brought by new discoveries and developments he regarded as transitional features which progress and time would override: the abolition of the feudal system of land tenure is a great stride forward despite the debris in its wake, the introduction of machinery is a wonderful contribution to the happiness of mankind, although many must suffer before man adjusts himself to modern technical invention. As ever Anzengruber finds the panacea in education. Town and country were already being drawn closer together because of the railways which were growing rapidly. In his Austria-Hungary David Kay comments on the

swift growth of the railways in the Monarchy. In 1837 the Monarchy possessed only 160 miles of railway, in 1849 it had 1,214, in 1857: 2,260, in 1867: 4,170, in 1875: 10,345. 'Of these 4,754 miles were in Austria, 2,441 in Hungary and 3,150 were common to both (1,650 in Austria and 1,500 in Hungary).'<sup>1</sup> As a result of this a special problem confronted the carriers and sometimes also the rustic innkeeper, whose trade was thus diminished. Anzengruber deals with the plight of the carriers in Die Kameradin and in Fragment 170, Der Feuereinleger. The carrier in the story tells Brigitte,

'Ich bin schon ein alter Fuhrknecht, schon als Bub bin ich dieselbe Strasse auf- und niedergefahren, erst weiter, wie aber die Eisenbahn ins Land gekommen ist, nur bis zur Kreisstadt und wieder zurück.'<sup>2</sup>

The fragment combines the fate of a once popular inn with that of the carriers:

'dermaleinst, als die „verhüllte“ Eisenbahn der Post und den „schweren Fuhrleuten“ noch nicht das Brot vom Munde weggenommen hatte, war das Geschäft eine Goldgrube für den Wirt- gewesen, jetzt war es ein dürftiges Anwesen.'<sup>3</sup>

The peasants came into contact with the towns in various ways - as carriers, soldiers, students, factory-workers or servants - or by marriage or on market days. The townspeople visit the country at election time or at holiday time. Rich industrialists buy land or country houses. Sometimes children are sent to the country to be reared by peasants' wives, and since transport facilities have improved town workers in stuffy offices and workshops may benefit from the

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<sup>1</sup> Austria-Hungary by David Kay, London 1880. Ch.VII, pp.91-2.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, p.98.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 170, Der Feuereinleger. Vol.I, p.408.

country air. Overcrowding and poverty have produced conditions which prompt the old carrier in Die Kameradin to remark,

'Die Stadt ist ein ungesunder Ort für einen Menschen, der darinnen aufwachsen soll, der mehrere Teil der Stadtleute ist schwach.'<sup>1</sup>

In outlook the city bred and the country bred differ considerably. Apart from being unhealthy places towns are usually regarded as sinks of iniquity by the older peasants. To the young, towns may appear fascinating, promising wealth and abundant pleasure. It is to the young then that Anzengruber speaks words of warning. Brigitte in Die Kameradin gives other peasant girls her impressions of town life, showing up the sordidness, grime and empty pretence of much of town life. Great importance is attached to the upkeep of a façade in the town, although Brigitte finds that in a town shoe-manufacturer's shop there is hardly any change from a village cobbler's - except for the gas lighting. That Anzengruber did not intend to deter peasant girls from seeking employment in towns is evident from the way in which the story ends, for Brigitte marries her employer. What he did want to do was to dispel false ideas about the towns, expose cheating employment agencies and unscrupulous employers. Finally one is left with the impression that the country can give more to the town than the town can give to the country - an impression which contradicts Anzengruber's intentions.

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, p.112.

Anzengruber seems to have little to say in praise of the army which often introduces peasant lads to the towns. Leopold Niederreiter<sup>n</sup> in Früher Tod returns to his father's farm after having indulged in the worst kind of excesses during his army service in various towns. In his case, the towns are not entirely responsible for his downfall, for character must always be taken into account. He was unprepared and defenceless to a great extent.

'Ja, das Militär, hätte nicht gedacht, wie es dort ist, war zu Haus gewohnt das Schaffen, dort gab es viel freie Zeit, und einmal dort und wieder da sein, müssige Zeit und Unstetsinn macht lüstern Blut. Haha, und das Frauenzimmer in den Städten hat das auch, hat über sein bisschen Arbeit immer den Kopf frei und similiert und liest Liebesgeschichten.'<sup>1</sup>

Some peasants' sons are forced to seek independence and employment elsewhere, because their parents refuse to retire. Toni in Der Sternsteinhof and Alois Zulehner in Örtler join the army. Toni returns to farming but Alois decides to sell the holding after his father's death. As his father protests that he cannot sell the land which belonged to his forebears Alois explains,

'Für ein Bauer bin ich halt schier verdorben, 's Soldatenleben ist doch ein anders, mehr h'rumtreiberisch, da lernt mer Leut und Welt kennen, und könnt ich mich gleich noch entschliessen, wo auf einer Wirtschaft sitzen z'bleiben, in dem Nest tauget's mer nit, das wär z'unlustig.'<sup>2</sup>

Here is a peasant who has lost his roots and it might appear that this is what Anzengruber wished, but once again we are told of his moral corruption and, as has been mentioned before, the father and the country setting in this particular story turn out to be far more attractive than the son and 'Leut' and 'Welt' he knows.

<sup>1</sup> Früher Tod. Vol.XIV, p.486.

<sup>2</sup> Örtler. Vol.XI, p.480.



There is a good, solid, wholesome quality about the peasants' attitude to money and work too, despite their backwardness. The peasant tends to save, whereas the townsman spends. In the city fortunes are made and lost in a day, there is little depth, little security to be found. In the country it is the accumulated store of generations which provides present wealth.

'Der einfache, ehrliche Mann trägt sein Leben, ohne zu fragen, warum er da sei; ohne nach Lohn auszublicken oder Strafe zu fürchten, tut er bescheiden seine Pflicht. Seine Hand nährt ihn, Genüsse kennt er wenige. Sie liegen ihm meist in der Erholung von der Arbeit, die er nicht hasst noch liebt. Der Arbeiter, der in Fabriken ausgebeutet wird, liefert diesen Typus nicht.'<sup>1</sup>

Most of the workers in towns were then factory workers and it was to them Anzengruber referred in Fragment 552 just quoted. In Der Fleck auf der Ehr where three farmhands discuss new methods of work with three farmers we can see that Anzengruber does not think that the farm lads will improve themselves or their conditions of work by leaving the field for the factory.

Loisl. Wo heunttags schon jede Scheibtruhn mit Dampf gtrieben wird und jeder zu dem Radl, was er im Kopf zviel hat, a Maschin derfindt -

Lenzl. Und mer nächstens bei oaner Gfrier d'Acker mit eiserne Röhrn heizen wird -

Loisl. Da lässt sich so a Bauerngütel leicht an oan Tag zsamm-maschinieren!

Wieser. Dös war eng halt recht, da brauchets ös mit viel Hand anzulegen, aber wann sich's mit der Maschinwirtschaft so leicht richten liess, so brauchen mer eng nit.

Loisl. Und mir eng noch weniger, mir gangen halt nachher in d'Fabrik, was der Moses Vergantmeier und Aron Bauerntöter errichten werden.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 552. Vol.I, pp.549-50.

<sup>2</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act I, sc.4. Vol.II, pp.195-6.

Anzengruber wishes to draw the town and country closer together, so that the peasant may attain to a broader outlook, keep abreast of progress and yet contrive to avoid the taint of any urban corruption, while the townspeople refresh themselves physically, mentally and morally in the purer country atmosphere. Seuffert compares Rpssegger's and Anzengruber's attitudes: 'Preist jener den Segen der Bodenständigkeit, die kraftvolle Originalität alten Einsichtbauerntums so möchte Anzengruber schelten und preisgeben.'<sup>1</sup> He scolds even when he is writing about peasants so fairly, however, that what he says becomes almost appreciation or at least often amounts to appreciative criticism. He rejoices that as he sees it prejudice and superstition, narrow-mindedness and ignorance are being chased helter-skelter out of their isolated mountain hiding-places, 'Brutnester des Egoismus', but at the same time strongholds of strength of character, sturdy independence and refreshing originality. He seeks social improvements in the country dwellers' conditions of life, better houses and higher returns for their labour, tax relief, economic protection and above all education. He aims at a healthy, secure, prosperous, enlightened, politically responsible peasantry taking its rightful place in the structure of Austrian society.

## CHAPTER FIVE.

### ANZENGRUBER - THE TOWN AND THE TOWNSPEOPLE.

#### I. Anzengruber and the Town.

- a) Vienna - The setting for Anzengruber.
- b) Sanitation and Hygiene.
- c) Economic difficulties.
- d) Housing.

#### II. Anzengruber and the Townspeople.

- a) The aristocracy.
- b) The middle classes.
- c) The proletariat.
- d) Town entertainments.

I.

a) For Anzengruber the town and the townspeople are Vienna and the Viennese. Vienna is the city of his dreams - and of his nightmares. His Vienna is the imperial city of Strauss and speculators, revolutionaries and reactionaries. Of the year 1848 he has boyhood memories - of the absolutist régime and Metternich, of the streetfighting and the barricades. Later there come the high hopes of middle class liberalism, political and religious reaction, the defeat of old imperial Austria by young Germany and acute racial, economic and social problems.

Most of the changing moods and scenes in his native city are reflected in his works, either in his plays and stories or in his newspaper articles. It is a time of transition in Austria. Politically the change is from absolute to constitutional rule and economically from skilled craftsmanship to mass production by machines. Liberal economic policy takes no measures to prevent the gradual disappearance of the lower middle class, the members of which sink to the level of the proletariat. Anzengruber gives us examples of these unfortunate de-classed combmakers, cabinetmakers and small business people in Ein Wilder von Profession, Das vierte Gebot and Der gekränkte Gatte. He himself experienced the pangs of the de-classed. The list of the removals which he makes with his mother and grandmother betrays the downward trend of their fortunes. They move from the 'Dreilaufferhause in der Alservorstadt, das mit seiner altväterischen, dreistöckigen

Hauptfront von den weitläufigen Hintergebäuden im Wesentlichen unverändert, heute wie dazumal eine Strassenkreuzung in der Nähe der Hernalser Linie beherrscht' to the '„Floriangasse vis à vis der Kaserne"; dann von der Josefstadt in die Marien- (heute Dänhauser-) gasse, hernach in die Mayerhofgasse auf der Wieden.<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber begins after his initial success as a 'Bauerndichter' to use Vienna as a setting for many of his stories and dramas, but Elfriede and Die Tochter des Wucherers rouse no enthusiasm. His novel, Der Schandfleck is set partly in the country and partly in the town. In writing this book he discovers the reason for the failure of his descriptions of townspeople.

'Was nun ~~Ihre~~ Einwürfe anlangt', he <sup>answers</sup> writes Bolin in a letter dated 23rd March, 1877, 'so ist es ganz unleugbar, dass der in der Stadt spielende Teil des Romans, was die Charakterisierung des städtischen Lebens und seiner Figuren anlangt, schwächer geraten ist und das kommt daher, weil ich als Stadtkind alle einschlägigen Verhältnisse als zu bekannt voraussetzte und mich auf ein skizzenhaftes Andeuten beschränkte, um den Leser nicht - wie ich glaubte - zu langweilen und zu ermüden. Das ist gross gefehlt gewesen! Hätte ich die Stadt mit derselben Sorgfalt behandelt wie das Land, so hätte sich's der Städter recht gern gefallen lassen und die anderen Leser "in den angrenzenden Provinzen" wären auch besser dabei gefahren und ich bei Ihnen und ihnen.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1873 after Die Tochter des Wucherers has been unfavourably received he had thought that the reason for its failure was to be found in his choice of subject. He writes to Schlögl from Wolkersdorf,

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<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber. Der Mann - Sein Werk - Seine Weltanschauung. by Anton Bettelheim, Berlin 1898 (zweite vermehrte Auflage), p.36.

<sup>2</sup> An Bolin, Wien, den 23. März 1877. Bfe.I, p.312.

'Ich habe da einen Missgriff gethan, ich habe tragische Effekte auf dem Wiener Boden gesucht, das ist der Fehler - die urwüchsigen Typen sind nur komisch oder gemischt (humoristisch) zu verwerten - und was darüber oder darunter wegläuft, ist unserem Publikum nicht produzierbar, es nimmt gleich für und wider Partei - und das geht nicht.'<sup>1</sup>

That this self criticism is misplaced we can see from his tragedy of Viennese life in Das vierte Gebot. Bettelheim's words on Schlögl's Wiener Blut would apply equally well to Anzengruber's Das vierte Gebot:

'Wenn mich nun jemand fragte: Ist das Buch also ein lustiges Buch? so müsste ich gegenfragen: Ist Wien eine so lustige Stadt?

Wo aber unser Autor ernst wird, da ist er "das Gewissen Wiens!"<sup>2</sup>

In Das vierte Gebot Anzengruber displays

'die "Verschlampung" des Wiener Bürgertums, den inneren Ruin der Reichen, den äusseren der Armen durch die gleiche rohe und dünnleibige Genussucht in tragischer Grösse... Wieder und wieder schleudert er seine wetterleuchtende Worte wider dies Wien, dessen deutsche Kultur in einem "asiatischen" Sichgehenlassen verkommt.'<sup>3</sup>

To love people, Anzengruber implies, is to wish that they were better than they are and to help to improve them. The following quotation from Eduard Frank's introduction to a book of selections from Schlögl's works, Zu meiner Zeit, could apply also to Anzengruber, his friend and contemporary:

'Denn so sehr Schlögl die Menschen und Verhältnisse der Vorstadt liebte, so wenig war er nachsichtig gegen ihre Schwächen. Er kannte die Gefahren, die von einer Verstädtung drohten .... fürchtete ein Absinken, einen Verfall, einer Zerstörung der Volkskraft durch die Verlockung der städtischen Dekadenz. Darum legte er stets aufs neue den Finger in schwärende Wunden und nannte das Übel beim richtigen Namen.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An Schlögl, Wolkersdorf, den 20. Oktober 1873, Bfe.I, p.205.

<sup>2</sup> Quellen und Anmerkungen to Bfe.II by Anton Bettelheim. Stuttgart und Berlin 1902, p.274.

<sup>3</sup> Wien und Berlin by Julius Bab and Willy Handl. Berlin 1926, p.223.

<sup>4</sup> Zu meiner Zeit (Skizzen und Kulturbilder ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Eduard Frank), Prag 1944, p.9.



Like Schlögl, too, Anzengruber relates of 'Wiener Arten, und Unarten, Sitten und Unsitten.'<sup>\*</sup> A dramatist must present every point of view,<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber declares, in writing about his play Ein Faustschlag. This explains many seemingly contradictory statements which he makes. J.J. David even suggests, 'Er hat Wien gekannt und kaum geliebt.'<sup>2</sup> He knows Vienna, 'Gross-Sodom Wien'<sup>3</sup> he calls it in a letter, but he loves his native city despite its shortcomings, - the supine decadence which he depicts in Das vierte Gebot, the empty artificiality of middle class life revealed in Heimgefunden and generally the Viennese failings which lead to moral degradation. During the years he spent as an actor in the provinces he longed to be back in Vienna, as he repeatedly confesses to Franz Lipka:

'Kurz ich bin höchst unzufrieden - ich sehne mich ferner nach Wien - mein Belvedere, meine Laaerwaldpromenade, unsere Abendgänge durch die Stadt, die Schmauswaberl, unsere Galerie im Belvedere, das Bummeln am Graben und Kohlmarkt.'<sup>4</sup>

To Dr. Julius Duboc he explains his return to Vienna thus:

'Doch ward ich es müde, fern von dem Brennpunkt des geistigen Lebens in Österreich mich umherzutreiben.'<sup>5</sup>

On the one hand he writes in Brave Leut vom Grund:

'Weil ich mein Vaterstadt  
Nit am Buckel mitnehmen kann  
Geh ich glei lieber gar nit davon.  
O Wien, mein Vaterstadt,  
Du stehst bei mir in Gnad.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An Bolin 242, Wien den 3.Dezember 1877, Bfe.I, p.383.

<sup>2</sup> Die Dichtung, Bd.II; Anzengruber by J.J. David. Berlin and Leipzig, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> An Rosgger, Wien, den 22.Dezember 1883, Bfe.II, p.166.

<sup>4</sup> An Lipka, Bruck a. Mur, 2.September 1864, Bfe.I, p.84.

<sup>5</sup> An Dr. Julius Duboc, Wien, den 30.Oktober 1876. Bfe.I, p.289.

\* Chapter headings in Wiener Luft.

On the other hand he plans a novel about town life entitled Sumpf which was to reveal some of the foulness of city conditions that led him to call his beloved Vienna 'Donaubabel',<sup>1</sup> and 'Gross-Sodom Wien.'<sup>2</sup>

As a supplement to Anzengruber's works we may draw a statistical picture of Vienna from David Kay's Austria-Hungary, Friedrich Walter's Wien - Die Geschichte einer deutschen Grossstadt an der Grenze, and Die österreich-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. The figures given refer to population, housing and occupation. Walter reports that in 1864 Vienna had a population of 550,733 which by 1890 had increased to 827,567, without taking the suburbs into consideration. The total population was 1,364,548 in 1890, the year after Anzengruber's death.<sup>3</sup> Kay supplies information about the seventies: 'In 1872 Vienna contained 10,896 houses... The population in 1875 amounted to 673,865 or with suburbs 1,020,770.'<sup>4</sup> Vienna is the fourth largest town in Europe, the others being London, Paris and Berlin. Die österreich-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild gives statistics of occupations followed

'Unter der Gesamtzahl von 704,756 in der Stadt Wien (ohne Vororte) lebenden Einwohnern hatten sich im Jahre 1880 297,760 durch Gewerbe und Industrien, 166,131 durch intellektuelle Dienstleistungen und Handarbeit, 112,282 durch Handel und 45,271 durch Verkehrstätigkeit ihren Unterhalt verdient...'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An Rosegger, Donaubabel, am 2. Mai 1872, Bfe.I, p.168.

<sup>2</sup> An Rosegger, Wien den 22. Dezember 1883, Bfe.II, p.166.

<sup>3</sup> Wien - die Geschichte einer deutschen Grossstadt an der Grenze by Friedrich Walter, Wien 1944, p.336.

<sup>4</sup> Austria-Hungary by David Kay, London 1880, Ch.IX.

<sup>5</sup> Die österreich-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Wien 1886, p.280.

b) Anzengruber as a realist and a newspaper editor has to report on the incidents and problems of everyday life in the city, on problems of sanitation and economic difficulties. There is for instance the River Wien, defined by Anzengruber in Figaro.

'Wien (die) ist der offiziellen Aufschreibung nach ein Fluss, eigentlich aber, mit Geruch ein Bach, ohne Geruch mit reichlicher Füllung ein reissendes Wasser. Ausser diesen beiden Ubelständen weiss man von ihr nichts - Gutes.'<sup>1</sup>

In Wiener Luft he publishes

'Die "Kunette". Klage- und Beschwerdelied des Hofsängers Huber.

'Wenn die Wien von selbst nicht duftet,  
Steigt man h'nunter in ihr Bette,  
Dieses wird dann aufgeluftet  
Und man ziehet die "Kunette"  
Ach, dass man was Gescheiters täte!  
Wozu solche Missgerüche  
In die schwülen Lüfte mischen,  
Da schon nächste Wolkenbrüche  
Die "Kunette" ganz verwischen?!<sup>2</sup>

Visitors to Vienna comment on 'the greatest local evil that besets the city.' Mrs. Frances Trollope exclaims,

'This black and vilely-smelling ditch is a foul blot upon the beauty and neatness of this lovely city, and must certainly produce a miasma extremely prejudicial to health....'<sup>3</sup>

'Ach, dass uns ein Menschenhasser  
In das klare Hochquellwasser  
Mischte bald der Schwarza Flut,  
Die viel Unheil bergen tut!  
Denn Bakterien, Bazillen,  
Pathogene Spaltpilz spielen  
Drinne 'ne gemischte Rolle,  
Dass man nimmer weiss, welch tolle,  
Fieberträchtige, krisenvolle  
Krankheit man sich wählen solle!'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nachlese zu Figaro. Vol.XV/II, p.339.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener Luft 1885, Nr.25, 20.Juni. Vol.XV/II, p.242.

<sup>3</sup> Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs.F.Trollope, London 1837. Vol.I, Letter XXVII, pp.322-323.

<sup>4</sup> Wiener Luft Nr.6, 5.Februar. Vol.XV/II, p.293.

This versified complaint, headed Das Schwarza-Wasser, is the result of a notice in the Neues Wiener Tagblatt about the shortage of drinking water: 'Wegen Trinkwassermangels darf (Erlass der Statthalterei) Wasser aus der Schwarza in die Hochquellenleitung gepumpt werden.'<sup>1</sup> The population of Vienna had been dependent for the most part upon wells until 1873 when the new pipe lines brought pure water from a mountain source. Friedrich Walter gives us the results of the change of drinking water in his Wien - die Geschichte einer deutschen Groszstadt an der Grenze:

'Schon der Rückgang der Todesfälle als Folge von Magen und Darm-erkrankungen was bemerkenswert, da deren Zahl von 34 je 10,000 Bewohner im Jahre 1873 auf 19 im Jahre 1887 absank, die Cholera aber trat, seit die Wiener Hochquellwasser tranken, in unserer Stadt überhaupt nicht mehr auf.'<sup>2</sup>

Adulterated food is as great a danger to health as impure water. Anzengruber frequently has to draw his readers' attention to problems such as those he mentions in his Giftige Wurstballade des Hofsängers Huber:

'Wenn so teuer ist ein Braten,  
Dass selbst Rothschild zahlen dann  
Nur in monatlichen Raten  
Eine solche Summe kann,  
Kostet's Gollasch einen Gulden,  
Stürzt, wer „Beinfleisch“ isst mit Kohl,  
Sich auf Lebenszeit in Schulden,  
Was tut dann der Arme wohl?

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<sup>1</sup> Neues Wiener Tagblatt. 10. 11. Januar 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Wien - die Geschichte einer deutschen Groszstadt an der Grenze by Friedrich Walter. Wien 1944, pp.324-5.

Ach, vom Selcher nimmt er Ware,  
Die oft Gift schon in sich barg,  
Dass die Wurst der offenbare  
Nagel wird zu seinem Sarg!  
So im Jahre fünfundachtzig  
Starb ein Maurer in Hernals,  
Der nur wenig nahm in acht sich,  
An dem "Wurstgift" gleichfalls!

- - - - -  
Hütet euch vor Übereilung,  
Wenn der Sonne Brand regiert,  
Da die Hitze auch die Fäulung  
Unverdientet proteschiert.  
Wenn bei Hunger du und Durst bist,  
Zwingte lieber diese zwein,  
Denn nicht alls, was du als Wurst isst,  
Darf, o Mensch, auch Wurst dir sein!<sup>1</sup>

Tief im Kot, written in the same half bantering, half serious manner, is a critical study of Vienna's streets which are covered with thick mud - unpleasant and unhealthy.

c) 'Die Weaner san fuchtig  
Und grantig gar sehr,  
Denn d'Steuern san wuchtig  
Und werd'n allweil mehr!<sup>2</sup>

This is one of the many complaints about the heavy taxes levied after the economic disaster of 1873. It appears in the Humoristische Blätter on March 1st 1874, as a result of 'Zinskreuzer- und anderer Steuern Erhöhung, 13., 25. Februar.'<sup>3</sup> The State and many individuals had for years been living beyond their income. In the study of Vienna's streets entitled Tief im Kot, Anzengruber writes in his introductory paragraph:

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<sup>1</sup> Wiener Luft 1885, Nr.34, 22.August. Vol.XV/II. pp.245-6.

<sup>2</sup> Humoristische Blätter Nr.55, 1.März 1874. Vol.XV/II, p.139.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the Humoristische Blätter. Vol.XV/II, p.358.

'Es soll hier nicht von der finanziellen Lage Wiens die Rede sein, obwohl wir wissen, dass Wien auch nach dieser Richtung „tief im Kot“ steckt, die Wasserversorgung, der Rathhausbau usw. kosten Wien so viel, dass neuerlich geborgt werden muss, und so fort bis ins Unendliche bis - frei nach Millöcker-Berlas „Abenteuer in Wien“ zu reden:

„Bis die Stadt  
Nichts mehr hat  
Und das kein Geheimnis ist!“<sup>1</sup>

Francis Palmer in his Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country agrees that

'in spite of all the architectural splendour of Vienna, the wealth of art contained in its palaces and museums, the vast treasures locked up in its churches and the colossal fortunes enjoyed by the monasteries of the Roman Catholic Church, the purses of the great majority of the Viennese are light indeed.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber reveals in plays such as Heimgfunden and stories such as Der gekränkte Gatte, how hollow and spurious the state of economic affairs is. He finds conditions extremely unstable and dislikes the modern 'Geldwirtschaft' which has replaced the solidity of traditional ways of conducting business. Yet he does desire economic development which will benefit mankind. But he points out that the path of progress does not lead to the swamps of deception and the quicksands of speculation but to the firm ground of hard work, honesty and altruism.

d) During the 'Gründerzeit' one of the greatest swindles was speculation in building. Sometimes building societies were merely interested

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<sup>1</sup> Wiener Studien: Tief im Kot. Vol.XV, p.352.

<sup>2</sup> Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country, by Francis H.E. Palmer, London, 1904, p.158.



in land speculation or in erecting cheap, jerry-built blocks of houses, for the sake of the high rents made possible by the shortage of houses. Brigitte in Die Kameradin thinks, 'Ja Berge haben sie auch in der Stadt, nur gemauerte, und da wohnen die Leute darin.'<sup>1</sup> She compares the housing situation in the town with that in the country.

'Was das für mächtig hohe Bauten waren! Das sieht ja aus, als hätte man mehr wie zehn oder zwanzig Dorfhütten neben einander gerückt und über einander gestellt und ein Ding daraus gemacht; da wohnen nun die Leute und zahlen dafür, sind lauter Kleinhäusler, aber ohne Haus, haben oft nicht mehr Raum wie ein solcher auf dem Lande, nur liegt dort zwischen den Hütten Feld und Wiese, hier haust eines neben dem andern, Wand an Wand, was das für ein Leben sein muss in so einem Haus? Bei allem, was man tut, immer so viel fremde Augen rundum, entweder fragt man darnach, oder man fragt nichts darnach, das gibt ein lästig oder ein verschämtes Wesen.'<sup>2</sup>

What strikes her most forcibly is that the houses are so tall and built so close together. Mrs. Frances Trollope and M. Tissot share her astonishment. The former exclaims over

'The incredible multitude of handsome residences that are to be found under one roof in Vienna.

'The Burgerspital is one of these - but within the last 25 years it has been converted into a most astonishing collection of handsome dwellings. It contains, as I am told 10 distinct internal courts, and 20 staircases; is fitted up in many parts with great elegance, contains 200 inhabitants, and produces an annual rent of 170 thousand florins, which if I mistake not, is about 8,500 pounds sterling... One house on the Hof mounts towards the heavens to the marvellous elevation of 8 stories: 5, and even 6, are very common.'<sup>3</sup>

Tissot comments,

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, p.122.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.121-2.

<sup>3</sup> Vienna and the Austrians by Mrs. F. Trollope. London 1837, Vol.I, Letter XXX, p.357.

'Il y a peu de maisons dans les quartiers populaires, qui ne ressemblent à un hôtel garni.

'Malgré les constructions nouvelles si nombreuses, qui se sont élevées ces dernières années, la disette de logements continue; d'après le dernier rapport des docteurs Innhauser et Husser, il y a encore des milliers de personnages qui habitent des caves, des trous noirs et humides, sans air et sans lumière. Dans une cour de la rue Élisabeth au numéro 8, se trouve une grotte en rocaïlle dans laquelle loge toute une famille; dans la rue de Saxe, on a improvisé un logement dans une étable. Une ancienne écurie abandonnée sert également de demeure à vingt-quatre marchands de marrons.<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber, too, remarks how unhealthy overcrowded housing conditions can be. He describes the dwelling-place of a shoemaker in Die Kameradin.

'Meister Christian legte sich vor der Holzwand mit dem Lehrlinge auf einen Strohsack und in dem Bette hinter dem Verschlage sollte Brigitte mit der Frau Tante und den beiden Kindern schlafen, da erbat sie sich doch lieber auch einen Strohsack und schlief wie die Nacht zuvor.

'Die Gasflamme wurde abgedreht, diese hatte schon durch einige Stunden von der Luft gezehrt, und was noch Gutes in derselben vorhanden war, das trank bald der Atem der fünf Personen auf; in dem dumpfigen Raume zwischen den feuchten Wänden verbrachte Brigitte eine unruhige Nacht, bleischwer drückte es auf die Brust des Landkindes, das an einen Überfluss von frischer, reiner Luft gewöhnt war, sie hätte gern das Fenster aufgerissen, hätte sie nur die Kraft gehabt aufzustehen. Gegen Morgen erwachte sie, empfand heftiges Kopfwahl und stand ermatteter auf, als sie sich niedergelegt hatte.<sup>2</sup>

Fragment 521, headed Die Aftermieter, proves that Anzengruber realises the evil moral consequences which may result from overcrowded living conditions and the danger of bad example in limited accommodation:

'Das nahe Zusammenwohnen und Aneinanderrücken führt zu Absichten, die leicht zu Vertraulichkeiten und Ungehörigkeiten führen.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vienne et la vie viennoise by Victor Tissot, Paris 1878, 17.éd., pp.453-454.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, pp.152-3.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 521. Vol.I, p.539.

That Anzengruber has his personal housing problems is revealed in a letter to Bolin:

'Und da habe ich nun die krankhafte Sehnsucht, ein Häuschen zu erwerben. Das kostet aber bestimmt das Vierfache. Soll ich das thun, soll ich das Vierteil, mein Ganzes darangeben? Ich werde dann müssen und immer wieder müssen, um das Heim zu behalten und leben zu können. Den Teufel auch, es ist das eine harte Nuss. Glück habe ich keines. Meine Arbeiten reichen nicht an die pekuniären Erfolge eines Berg und Costa hinan. Ich muss - ich sollte sehr vorsichtig sein, und doch - ich brauche einen Fleck Erde, den ich mein nennen kann.'<sup>1</sup>

For himself, then, Anzengruber approves of the one-family-house ideal, which Julius Faucher in his Vergleichende Culturbilder aus den vier Europäischen Millionenstädten warmly recommends as typically English.

'Und dann Wien - was ist Wien für eine prächtige Stadt!? Nur die ersten Städte des Kontinents können mit ihr konkurrieren. Dieser Bauluxus - wie viele hölzerne Treppen finden Sie noch in Paris! - und dieser Komfort, diese Umgebung.'<sup>2</sup>

How misplaced this 'Bauluxus', praised by Bruckhof in Alte Wiener, was in circumstances, which led Anzengruber to mourn in Wiener Luft:

'Ach, dass zwischen dumpfen Mauern,  
Leeren Magens, schwacher Brust,  
Viel aus niederem Kreis versauern  
Und verbittern....!'<sup>3</sup>

The State was as much to blame as the wealthy individual for neglecting the poor. When the old fortifications round the inner city were demolished at the beginning of the '60s the needs of the ordinary people were forgotten and handsome mansions and public buildings were

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<sup>1</sup> An Bolin, Perchtoldsdorf bei Wien, den 11.Mai 1879. Bfe.II, p.45.

<sup>2</sup> Alte Wiener, Act I, sc.6. Vol.V, p.266.

<sup>3</sup> Wiener Luft 1885, Nr.19, 9.Mai. Vol.XV/II, p.241.

built, which the country could ill afford. David Kay in his Austria-Hungary mentions the new Opera House completed in 1869 which could seat 3,000 spectators.

'A new Court Theatre is in process of construction and a new Rathaus, new University Buildings, Art and Natural History Museums, new Parliament buildings and a new Palace of Justice. A new Exchange was erected in 1869-76.'<sup>1</sup>

All these costly buildings contributed to the financial chaos of the late '60s and were among 'Einige Ursachen der Wiener Krisis vom Jahre 1873.' Benno Weber, author of this treatise reports that

'Der Verkaufspreis der Gründe an der Ringstrasse wuchs von 4-500 Gulden auf 800-1,000 Gulden in jenen Jahren 1860-1866 als noch nicht die gewerbsmässige Grundspeculation sich ausgebildet hatte.'<sup>2</sup>

He remarks, too, that 'vorzüglich Luxusquartiere, und wenig kleine, billige Wohnungen gebaut wurden.'<sup>2</sup> Financially and socially the transformation of the fortifications was misplaced, but architecturally it was very successful.

'So hat das grösste Bauereignis Wiens, das in diese kritische Epoche fiel, der Stadt doch nicht geschadet, ihr vielmehr das gegeben, was für den oberflächlichen Blick heute ihre grösste Schönheit ist: die Ringstrasse ... für Wien das letzte entscheidende bauliche Glück, dass die grosse innere Walllinie, diese Wirbelsäule jeder alten Stadt, der Bebauung erst zu einer Zeit freigegeben wurde, die reich und einsichtig genug war, hier eine repräsentative Anlage, eine sehr breite, reiche, begrünte Strassenflucht mit Parks und mit Prunkbauten zu schaffen. Dabei schleuderte die Hast der Terrainspekulanten natürlich rechts und links vom Ring Strassen hin voll notdürftiger Wohnbehälter (in der Mitte eine Tür, je drei bis vier Reihen von sechs bis acht Fenstern darüber). Aber der Hauptgürtel wurde doch für eine planmässig schöne Anlage gerettet.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Austria-Hungary by David Kay, London 1880, Ch.IX, p.112.

<sup>2</sup> Einige Ursachen der Wiener Krisis vom Jahre 1873 by Benno Weber, Leipzig 1874, p.51.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.53.

<sup>3</sup> Wien und Berlin by Julius Bab and Willy Handl, Berlin 1926, p.212.

Anzengruber would disagree with Bab's and Handl's assertion that their day was 'reich und einsichtig'. He wants a building programme to provide decent accommodation for those who live in evil-smelling, dilapidated houses like Frau Hartl in the suburban story Begrabenes Glück or in cramped, stuffy rooms such as those occupied by Brigitte's town relations in Die Kameradin. But the following quotation from Der Christabend einer Leichtfertigen shows that Anzengruber realises the even more pressing need for social education.

'Es war ein neues Haus, eine jener Bauten, wie sie gegenwärtig von kunstsinnigen Architekten geplant und von humanen Bauherren aufgeführt werden; wir lassen Laster und Armut nimmer in Höhlen wohnen, sondern in hohen, lichten, fein bemalten Räumen und durch Flügeltüren und über Parkettböden wandeln; leider verdirbt aber auch da der schlechte Umgang das Gute, und nur um so kläglicher nehmen sich in den grossen Fenstern die mit Papier verklebten Scheiben, an den Wänden der herabgefallene Bewurf, auf dem Boden die abgetretenen, nackten Flecken aus. Wenn auch einzelne Mieter für die Wohnlichkeit ihrer Räume sorgen, unter der Nachlässigkeit und Dürftigkeit der Mehrzahl verwahrlost das Haus.'<sup>1</sup>

The reforms so necessary in the organisation of town life can be carried out only when every townsman becomes a socially responsible person.

## II. The Townspeople.

And now let us turn to the townspeople - first to those whose fortunes enable them to live in big, light rooms which they can furnish as they wish. Anzengruber describes the Hammers' bedroom in his play Heimgfunden:

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<sup>1</sup> Der Christabend einer Leichtfertigen. Vol.XIII, p.487.

'Höchst elegant ausgestattetes Schlafgemach, es stellt sich als das letzte in der Zimmerflucht dar. Die Einrichtung imitiert eine altdeutsche Stube. Eichengetäfel. Im Hintergrunde ein Himmelbett. Vorne links ein Toilettetisch und Wandspiegel, dem Stile des Ganzen angepasst, daneben die Türe, durch eine Portiere geschlossen. Rechts ein Fenster, als Erker adaptiert. Kleines Empor (eine Stufe hoch) mit gepolsterten Bänken, Butzenscheiben. Ecke links ein grosser, brauner oder grüner Kachelofen. Ein paar Stühle mit hohen Lehnen und flacher Polsterung.<sup>1</sup>

The furnishings, like the Hammers, are at once pretentious and snobbish in their 'new-old' style.

Anzengruber takes an interest in the gardeners and toymakers, shoemakers and Cabinetmakers and the others who live in the half countrified atmosphere of the suburbs. Thomas in Heimgfunden describes the house in which he and his mother live to his 'Fräuln Nichte':

'Ja bei dem Haus is halt auch Hof und Garten. Zwar nur a Kuchelgarten, aber doch ein schöner Anblick, wann's so um und um grün herschaut und mer dabei denkt, dass mer alles auch essen kann. Und im Hof sind Gänse, Anten und Hendl, jetzt is gar noch a Hunderl dazukommen.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber tells, too, of the plight of those whose only shelter is in the 'winkeligen Gassen des Stadtviertels, in welchem verschämte und unverschämte Armut mit allen Mitteln gegen den Hunger stritt.'<sup>3</sup> He considers the social injustice of housing conditions which are such that some families possess large town houses and a country house, while others crowd into one room.

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act III, sc.1. Vol.VI, p.368.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.6. Vol.VI, p.386.

<sup>3</sup> Alte Liebe. Vol.XIII, p.86.



a) In Anzengruber's works the members of the aristocracy are not often mentioned. Those whom he does sketch he criticises or praises quite fairly, although he is writing under a strain, since he has no personal experience of their way of life. Beside the tyrannical, reactionary, feudalistic Graf von Finsterberg in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld he places the tolerant, enlightened, progressive Graf von Rankenstein in Ein Faustschlag, beside the petty poverty-stricken, snobbish von Weissbergs in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell the Baron von Herbenstein, his wife and family, happy and natural in their domestic circle. As an ideal of womanhood and true charity Anzengruber paints a portrait 'eines Engels vom Grunde', the Baronin von Rüdthof, in Ein frommer Augenblick. The main problem for the aristocrats is how they are to fit in to the new pattern of society. Their old authority and privileges are gradually slipping away from them. Money, possessions and power are passing into the hands of the wealthy manufacturers who in their turn play the hard masters to the proletariat. Typical of the old order are the following speeches of Finsterberg to his 'Revierjäger', Lux:

'Lux, solche Leute wie Er haben nichts zu meinen; sobald sie das anfangen, hat alles Auskommen mit ihnen ein Ende. Ihr habt nichts zu meinen! Wir meinen auch nichts, wir nehmen die göttliche Weltordnung, wie sie da ist, mit allen ihren Vorteilen einerseits und all der schweren Verantwortung anderseits... das "Obenhinauswollen" führt zu nichts und vorgesorgt muss werden, dass ihr im alten guten Geleise bleibt, denn sieht Er, Lux, die göttliche Weltordnung bestand schon lange, länger, als wir es denken können, und wird bestehen, solange es Menschen gibt. Wer sich dagegen auflehnt, dem wird's bald in seiner eignen Haut nicht wohl - warum? Er sieht, das Gebäude steht fest und ändern

kann er's nicht, wie er auch dran rüttelt, und wer die andern dazu verführt, den muss man wegrücken aus deren Gemeinschaft... Sieht er, Lux, so ist's das ist die Weltordnung, das ist der Ständeunterschied; wie die grossen Waldbäume das Unterholz vor dem Sturm, so schützen wir die Leute, wie Er ist, vor den bösen Gewitterstürmen der Neuzeit.<sup>1</sup>

A more comprehensive and realistic view of contemporary society is taken by Graf von Rankenstein. The new rich middle class, whose foundation is money, desires security and a tradition. They try to gain admittance to the ranks of the nobility. Frank in Ein Faustschlag wishes the ennoblement of his sons, but his father-in-law, Graf von Rankenstein, refuses saying:

Ihre Mutter hat sie einem Bürger geboren, so sollen die Kinder bürgerlich bleiben.'

Frank, rather piqued, replies, 'Ich weiss, Sie kokettieren gerne nach unter.'

Graf. Ich wüsste nicht. Nur seit mich das Alter den Kopf nicht mehr so hoch tragen lässt, nehme ich auch wahr, was zu meinen Füssen vorgeht. Übrigens, was hat der Adel noch voraus?

Frank. Die Ehre.

Graf. Ja, auch die, sich mit seinesgleichen schlagen zu dürfen. Ich weiss davon eine Geschichte zu erzählen. Als jungen Menschen brachte mich einmal eine spöttische Bemerkung eines Kameraden um die Gunst einer sehr achtenswerten Dame, natürlich forderte ich den Spötter, das Duell kam zustande und der Beleidiger schoss mich - den an seiner Ehre Gekränkten und am Glücke Verkürzten - über den Haufen.... - der Adel! Wollen Sie davon für Ihre Kinder?<sup>2</sup>

b) Rich manufacturers like Frank and Wengert bridge the gap between the aristocracy and the middle class with their wealth, and marry

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<sup>1</sup> Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld, Act I, sc.1. Vol.II, pp.9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.8. Vol.VI, pp.28-29.

titled ladies. Times have changed as Graf von Rankenstein, Frank's father-in-law, had the good sense to perceive sooner than most of his peers.

'Werfen Sie uns vor, dass wir Vernunft angenommen haben, dass wir den Forderungen der Zeit klug nachgegeben? Ei, Herr, sässen wir noch in unsern alten Vorrechten und Vorurteilen, dann hätte ich seinerzeit meine Tochter in ein Kloster sperren und Sie mit der Reitgerte aus dem Hause fuchtein müssen!'<sup>1</sup>

Wengert rebels against the greed and pretentiousness of his wife's parasitical relations. They have forsaken healthy, natural family life, binding feelings in strait jackets of class convention and keeping up unbearable social distinctions even between man and wife. He finally complains bitterly to his father-in-law, von Weissberg:

'Vor Wochen kam ich zufällig zum Baron von Herbenstein - hören Sie, Herr von Weissberg! - Baron war der Mann! ... Kurz dieser Mann führte mich in seine Familie ein, er überhäufte mich mit Liebenswürdigkeit, er liess mich keinen Abstand fühlen zwischen Bürger und Adel, nichts schlug mich als sein gewandter Geist - und den verehrte ich an ihm, wie an jedem. - Er lebte so glücklich, er nannte seine Frau: sein geliebtes Weib! - er sagte: "Du!" - dies süsse Wort, dass ich fast verlernt habe, er küsste, er herzte seine Kinder....'<sup>2</sup>

The lesson which Anzengruber wishes to teach in his study of the relations between the aristocracy and the upper middle class and the working class is that true nobility does not consist in being a 'Kleiderstock', pruning one's feelings to conform with unnatural customs and becoming as cold as the gold, which is all important to the times. Gold can buy outward nobility but not inward.

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.8. Vol.VI, p.30.

<sup>2</sup> Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell, Act II, sc.3. Vol.VII, pp.87-88.

'Ein Herzogthum kann man in einer Tasche tragen', wrote Stifter, 'Das Geld ... endlich ein Dämon, seine Farbe wechselnd, statt Bild der Dinge, selbst Ding werdend, ja einzig Ding, das all die anderen verschlang - ein blendend Gespenst, dem wir, als wäre es Glück, nachjagen - ein räthselhafter Abgrund, aus dem alle Genüsse der Welt empor tauchen, und in dem wir dafür das höchste Gut dieser Erde hineingeworfen haben, die Bruderliebe.'<sup>1</sup>

This quotation from Stifter concurs with Anzengruber's view of money, the basis, and at the same time, the doom of middle class ascendancy. Money, a servant become master, stifled idealism, honesty and love and from the outset corrupted the younger generation physically and morally, producing the well known 'Wiener Fruchtel'.

In the professional classes idealism must often go by the board for financial reasons. The influence necessary to establish a young man frequently has to be bought. Dr. Leopold Sängner in Die Freundin explains his difficulties to Frau Heidenreich and her daughter. They congratulate him upon having attained his goal. He replies,

'Ja, eben am Ziele ergibt sich immer eine artige Differenz zwischen dem Geträumten und dem Erreichten. Eingbracht hat mir der Doktor bisher so gut wie nichts, aber er kostet mich viel Geld, schwere Mühe und meine Freiheit.... einigermassen beschämt mich die Erkenntnis, dass Dankestränen keine Subsistenzmittel sind.'<sup>2</sup>

Since he cannot make his own way, he is compelled to seek the protection of a well established doctor by marrying one of his daughters. An extravagant vain wife, Malwine, ruins her husband's reputation and his health through her inordinate love of clothes.\* Anzengruber shows

<sup>1</sup> Vermischte Schriften: Aussicht und Betrachtungen von der Spitze des St. Stephansthurmes, by Adalbert Stifter, Bd.II. (15th vol. of his Sämmtliche Werke), Reichenberg 1935, p.3.

<sup>2</sup> Die Freundin. Vol.XIII, pp.37 & 39.

\* Cf. Chapter on Love and Marriage, p.104.

Malwine's husband as he had been before making money had become uppermost in his mind and after.

Malwines Gatte war ein geschickter Advokat; bisher hatte er sich von der strengsten Gewissenhaftigkeit leiten lassen, sich keines Rechtshandels angenommen, der durch die Person des Klienten oder die Streitsache anrühlich schien... Damit begann er es nun anders zu halten: er fragte weder nach dem Leumund des Klienten noch nach der Lauterkeit der Sache, übernahm nicht nur jeden Prozess, um dessen Führung er angegangen wurde, sondern bot sich selbst den Leuten an und rannte ihnen die Türen ein, auch wo es sich nur um Bagatellen handelte, als welche ihm übrigens alle Rechtshandel erschienen, sie mochten sich um was immer drehen, sobald für ihn kein Geld mehr herauszuschlagen war. Er leistete viele, aber schlechte Arbeit und verlangte sie besser bezahlt als eine gute. Dieses Treiben führte dazu, dass er sich von Freunden die scherzhaften Benennungen „Prozesswolf“, „Aktenhyäne“ und „Expensenalligator“ gefallen lassen musste, der üblen Nachrede zu geschweigen...<sup>1</sup>

The life of another lawyer, Dr. Artur Hammer, is described in Heimgefunden. Dr. Hammer has risen from the lower classes through his ability and the self-sacrifice of his widowed mother and younger brother. He is a specimen, like Frank in Ein Faustschlag, of the new rich. Money has given Artur Hammer power and position, but it has inflated his ideas beyond his means. His wife's remark that he has always called her efforts to save 'spiessbürgerlich' and 'für unsere Stellung nicht passend' betrays Hammer's attitude to the class from which he has sprung. He has tried to buy favour and spent sums upon entertaining his many 'friends'. When the crash comes he feels bitterly disappointed and disillusioned over the ill-concealed 'Schadenfreude' of his guests.

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<sup>1</sup> Das Weidenweiblein. Vol.XIV, pp.295-296.

'Meine Stellung ist zerstört und mit ihr das Vertrauen auf die Menschen, auch auf die mir zunächst stehenden... - Ich habe - was man so nennt - ein Haus gemacht und es mit Menschen gefüllt, von denen kein einziger nur Liene macht, mir helfend die Hand zu reichen.'<sup>1</sup>

What he tells his brother, Thomas, after the latter has prevented him from committing suicide, reveals the empty artificiality of upper middle class society.

Dr. Hammer. Als jungen Menschen konnte es mich reizen, mich emporzuarbeiten, es weiter zu bringen als mancher andere und ich habe mich hinaufgearbeitet, und solange ich mich droben erhielt, war es ja gut, aber jetzt hab ich all das mitgerissen, das nach etwas aussah, und da liegt es nun um mich hohl und leer.

Thomas. Kaschiert.

Dr. Hammer. Ich weiss es nun, dass sich mit meinen Mitteln nur meine Bedürfnisse vermehren, und welche Bedürfnisse! Die Sucht nach Vergnügungen, der Hang, es andern zu vorzutun; ich weiss es, dass es den Menschen nicht besser macht, wenn es ihm besser geht, und dass das Beste, was man haben kann, der Ärmste oft ausschliesslicher sein eigen nennt als der, der über den Pflichten gegen die sogenannte Gesellschaft die nächsten gegen sich und andere vergisst.'<sup>2</sup>

In answer to his complaint that he cannot bear to sink down the social scale and yet no longer considers what he has lost worth regaining, his brother exclaims,

'Mein Gott, wann dir die untern Schichten net anstehn und die obern nimmer gefallen, so bleib halt in der Mitten.'<sup>3</sup>

Money and the demands of polite society distort the lives of entire families. Dr. Hammer's guilt is not confined to his own family.

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act II, sc.2. Vol.VI, p.335.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.335-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.336.



His bookkeeper, Fahnlein, testifies to the irresponsibility of the wealthy. Many others were in the same predicament after the financial disaster of 1873. Fahnlein laments,

'Ich war so unvorsichtig auch mein Erspartes in seinen Händen zu lassen, das Geld, das mir die wenigen Bedürfnisse meiner letzten Tage sichern sollte und wofür ich anständig zu Grabe gebracht zu werden hoffte! Damit ist es nun vorbei, an seinen Gesellschafts-abenden mit Schmarotzern vergeudet - verjubeit - vertanzt - ver-- was ich unter Entbehrungen, mit Versagung jedes Vergnügens zu-- sammengescharrt in dreissigjähriger Sklavenarbeit.'<sup>1</sup>

The following extract from a speech by Frey in Das vierte Gebot characterises the dissolute young August Stolzenthaler in particular and the type of young man, corrupted by a life of easy luxury, known as 'Wiener Fruchtel':

'Es ist dies ein Mensch ohne alle Bildung, ohne jede bessere Anlage; seinem Vater rühmt man wenigstens Tätigkeit nach, der Junge aber rührt keine Hand und lässt andere für sich arbeiten, er hat sich nur die Aufgabe gestellt, das Leben zu geniessen, und wenn Sie erst wissen, was ihm Genuss ist, dann können Sie nur mehr ein Gefühl für ihn haben, das des Ekels.'<sup>2</sup>

'Préssinger (ganz junger, verlebter Mensch, nach der neuesten Mode mit weiblicher Sorgfalt gekleidet)'<sup>3</sup> is another self-indulgent, selfish young rake, whose portrait Anzengruber paints in Brave Leut vom Grund.

Riches build a barrier between the sons of wealthy men and the world of hard work and social usefulness. Should the golden screen fall their plight is pitiable. Fragment 87 considers this problem.

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act I, sc.1. Vol.VI, p.291.

<sup>2</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.7. Vol.V, p.162.

<sup>3</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, III Abteilung, sc.1. Vol.VI, p.255.

'Der herabgekommene Hausherrnsohn. Posse.

"Mein, das Geld soll uns nicht trennen. Ich habe Arme, wir wollen arbeiten."

"Sehr schön! Sie werden Strassenkehrer und Schneeschaufler, junger Herr, denn gelernt haben Sie nichts, verstehen nichts, also grobe Arbeit, zu der Sie nicht taugen."<sup>1</sup>

Lack of energy and independence is shown by the mollycoddled Gustav in Alte Wiener, until the family friend, Kernhofer, persuades him to shoulder his responsibilities. Gustav appeals,

'Sie kennen meinen Vater, Sie wissen, 's Auffüttern is ihm die halbe Erziehung, no, und die halbe Erziehung haben ich und meine Schwestern genossen, aber sonst nicht viele andere.'<sup>2</sup>

In a conversation with Kernhofer, Gustav's father, Herr Schmalhofer, reveals the extent of his guilt - his neglect of his son's moral welfare.

'Kernhofer. Weisst du, dass sich dein Gustav nur durch dein Geschäft fortfristen kann?

Schmalhofer. Freilich weiss ich's, und so gut ich's weiss, weiss er's auch und eben darum, wenn einer so ganz abhängig ist, so soll er nit mit einmal 'n eignen Herrn spielen wolln, das steht ihm nit gut an!

Kernhofer. Und da drüber haltst du dich auf? Dir macht's kein Freud, dass dein Bub amal sein Totschlachtigkeit abbeutelst? Soll er dich a um die Erlaubnis bitten, ob er a Mensch sein darf? Ich denk, er war eh zahm gaug, weil er sich jetzt erst aussertraut, wo sich's um nix Geringers als um Ehr und Glück, von drei Menschen handelt. Oder wär dir ein ehrloser Lump lieber, der sich vor der heiligsten Mahnung für sein eigen Fleisch und Blut zu sorgen, hinter d'Kittelfalten der Frau Mama verkriechet, nur um nit aus'm Futter z'kommen?!<sup>3</sup>

Wives and daughters, too, suffer from the hothouse atmosphere created by superfluity of material goods. They have nothing to do as Fährlein declares in Heimgefunden 'als jahraus, jahrein sich zu putzen

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 87. Vol.I, pp.368-369.

<sup>2</sup> Alte Wiener, Act II, sc.6. Vol.V, p.311.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Act IV, sc.5. Vol.V, pp.325-326.

und ein Schock neuester Romane zu lesen.<sup>1</sup> Wealthy middle class husbands often do not have wives in the true sense of the word. They have playthings, big dolls, as Anzengruber points out in Sein Spielzeug, Elfriede and Heimgfunden. In the last mentioned Föhnlein stutters to Doctor Hammer,

'Sie - Sie haben aber ja gar kein Weib! Sie haben ein Fräulein zur gnädigen Frau gemacht, und wenn sie das aufhört zu sein, so weiss sie in aller Welt nichts mit sich selber anzufangen noch mit Ihnen.'<sup>2</sup>

Children in general are at a great disadvantage in the upper middle class, for they are left to the care of nursemaids or sent away to boarding school. They are denied the right of children to grow up in a family circle knowing the love of their parents. In Ein Faustschlag Anzengruber describes the pernicious influence of an irresponsible nursemaid. Professor Menger bumps into a perambulator in a park.

'Hé! Wer lässt denn das Kind hier in der Sonne braten und von Fliegen fressen?! Holla, ist denn gar niemand zur Aufsicht da?!'<sup>3</sup>

The nursemaid is flirting with a soldier and sends the baby's sister to look after it. Minchen is only nine, but she has already learned about love. She tells Professor Menger,

'Sie könnten auch besser aufsehen. Ihretwegen musste ich von Gitta und ihrem Feldweibel weg, und die sprachen just so schön - (augenverdrehend) von Liebe!'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act I, sc.6. Vol.VI, p.304.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.308.

<sup>3</sup> & <sup>4</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.2. Vol.VI, p.4.

Anzengruber suggests that such precociousness is fraught with danger. Children should not be guests in their homes like Alwine in Heimgfunden. Alwine's grandmother criticises her son, 'Das war freilich a Fehler, dass d' dein Kind ganz in fremder Leut Händ geben hast.'<sup>1</sup> Fährlein paints a picture of family life in a drawing-room:

'In einer vornehmen Wirtschaft kennt man nicht Eltern noch Geschwister, - wenn sie nicht präsentabel sind, - fort, bleib, wo du willst, pauveres Pack! Kennt man nicht Weib und Kind, - plärrende, unsaubere Rangen, die das Haus auf den Kopf stellen, während deren Mutter stolz darauf ist, die Windeln selber zu waschen, herumläuft mit aufgequollenen Fingern und nach Seife riecht, - pfui, - und zwar keinem anderen gefällt, aber auch bald dem Manne nimmer; - nein, da braucht es eine gnädige Frau vom Hause, die nichts zu machen hat als die Honneurs, und um nicht zu stören, müssen Söhne und Töchter in die Erziehung, bis sie sich als junge gnädige Herren und gnädige Fräulein sehen lassen können; diese Schonung erhält so eine Dame angenehm für den Gemahl und gefällig für die Gäste...'<sup>2</sup>

Even the fathers of grown up families do not escape the demoralising effect of money. Anzengruber selects an ageing merchant, Anton Willhofer, to represent gray-haired playboys in his play Ausm-gewohnten Gleis.

Manners, customs and education form barriers between social classes as well as money does. The ludicrous side of this is shown in Ausm-gewohnten Gleis. The clerk, Schmidt, qualifies through a legacy to be admitted to the ranks of the capitalists, but he cannot find his way in the maze of formalities which is a dinner-party in polite society.

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act II, sc.12. Vol.VI, p.364.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act I, sc.6. Vol.VI, pp.306-307.

Gustav, Schmidt's nephew, teaches his uncle some of the pretence which must be kept up in society, when he plans the introduction:

Mein Neffe, Herr Gustav Gradl, Kaufmann.  
Schmidt. Du bist ja kein Kaufmann.  
Gustav. Na, wollen S'sich und mich blamieren und etwa „vazierender Handlungsgehilf“ sagen?<sup>1</sup>

At the dinner party Herr Schmidt is so anxious to protect his new clothes that he covers himself with serviettes and the other guests with confusion. He spills his soup and blows the froth off champagne as if it were beer. On the other hand the stupidity and hypocrisy of many middle class conventions are laid bare by Doctor Knorr in Elfriede. In answering Elfriede's 'Welchem Zufall verdanke ich die Ehre Ihrer werten Bekanntschaft?' Dr. Knorr thinks, 'Ja so, ja so, das ist die gewöhnliche Umgangsheuchelei. Hier haben sie mit jedem Lumpenkerl die Ehre und jeder Schuft ist eine werthe Bekanntschaft.'<sup>2</sup> For him nothing is 'impossible' except 'was den Naturgesetzen zuwiderläuft' as he tells the manservant Alexander. Kernhofer in Alte Wiener discusses the correct form of address and advises Therese Käsmeier a former factory girl, who has married into the middle class,

'Im gesellschaftlichen Umgang kann man sich ja den Luxus mit Titulaturen gestatten, ob s' verdient sind oder nit. Unter den Exzellenzen, Magnifizenzen und Würdigkeiten werden Sie just auch nicht alle für exzellent, magnifique und würdig erklären, aber doch sagt man so zu ihnen, und je weniger es verdient is, desto mehr mach's ihnen vielleicht Freud.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ausm gewohnten Gleis, II Abteilung, sc.5. Vol.VI, pp.131-132.

<sup>2</sup> Elfriede, Act II, sc.1. Vol.V, p.22.

<sup>3</sup> Alte Wiener, Act IV, sc.2. Vol.V, p.320.

Theres takes Kernhofer's counsel and calls Kunigunde Schmalhofer 'gnä Frau', thus winning over this snobbishly inclined woman who had said of her,

'Natürlich, ich hab doch zu kein ehmaligen Arbeitermadel „gnä Frau“ sagen können, und hätt sie ein'm noch die Ehr gebn, die ein'm zukommt, und wie früher „gnä Frau“ zu mir gsagt, so hätt ich ihr ja gern „Frau von Käsemeier“ gesagt.'<sup>1</sup>

Such are the pebbles which build up the high walls between the classes of society.

'Ach, ich wollte, wollte, sie hätten mich anspruchsloser erzogen! Ich kann mich nicht anders geben, als ich geworden bin,'<sup>2</sup> sighs Marie von Weissberg in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell. Her husband, the son of a peasant, then a foreman in a factory, which is ultimately bequeathed to him, blames the difference in upbringing for the initial failure of his marriage. Environment, education and example can make or mar a man. Anzengruber assents with some reservations to the Naturalists' evaluation of 'milieu'. Das vierte Gebot shows family life on three levels. The Hutterers and Stolzenthalers represent the wealthy middle class, the Schalanterers the lower middle class and the Schöns the working class. Greedy and degenerate, the middle class families produce diseased children, criminals and prostitutes. The gardener, Schön, and his wife are presented as ideal parents. Schön explains to Hutterer,

'Sie habn sich die Jahr her gwundert, dass wir uns kein guten Bissen vergönnen, nur um den Bubn studiern zu lassen, aber das is so eins aus dem andern kommen. Meine Eltern waren Tagwerker-leut, hat keins lesen noch schreiben können, aber der Vater hat

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<sup>1</sup> Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell, Act II, sc.9. Vol.VII, p.99.



gsagt, das därf nit so fortgehn bei unsere Kinder, die müssen was lernen. Na, da hat's halt mehr schwarzs Brot und Erdäpfel gebn als Fleisch, wie man sich leicht denken kann, aber wir Kinder sind dafür fleissig in die Schul gschickt wordn. Und wie ich, mein Bruder und meine Schwester an sein Todbett gstanden sein, da hat er gsagt, sagt er: „Seht's, euch geht's schon viel besser, als 's uns gangen is, müssts halt auch dazuschaun, dass 's euern Kindern wieder um ein Teil besser geht als wie euch.“<sup>1</sup>

Eduard Schön, their only son, is the only one of the young people in the play to turn out well.

Another phenomenon produced by environment is the man who is one-sidedly developed. Schmidt in Ausmgewohnten Gleis and Schwaiger in Die Tochter des Wucherers are, like Cassirer Purzel in Freytag's Soll und Haben, slaves to custom. They have lost touch with their fellow-men. Schmidt after having had the courage to confront his employer with the words,

'Wer hat das unmenschliche Ansinnen gestellt? Oh, Sie! Nur Sie können's gewesen sein, Sie, der mich die Jahre her als Schreibmaschine gebraucht und als solche behandelt hat, der Herr Chef, na freilich, der Herr Chef',<sup>2</sup>

pleads in a more sober state of mind to be allowed to return to his desk:

'Aber nein, ich muss ja bleiben können, die alte, langjährige Angewöhnung, ich pass zu nichts anderm mehr; in ein Gesellschaft teug ich nicht.'<sup>3</sup>

c) Anzengruber is trying to jog the conscience and arouse the fellow feelings of the self-indulgent, self-seeking, self-satisfied middle

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.2. Vol.V, pp.149-150.

<sup>2</sup> Ausmgewohnten Gleis, Act III, sc.9. Vol.VI, p.166.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Act V, sc.2. Vol.VI, p.185.

class. Instead of endeavouring to separate themselves from other classes they ought to look for the common ground of human interest and seek to improve the lot of their fellows whom they have so far exploited and despised. Martin Willhofer in Ausm gewohnten Gleis accuses his brother of treating his clerk as a slave, while Fähnlein in Heimgfunden attacks the irresponsible members of the upper classes who make merry on the money invested in their businesses.

'Und dann will ich unter den erleuchteten Fenstern dieses Hauses auf und ab gehen und die Musik, die herunterschallt, soll mein Promenadekoncert sein und der Gedanke soll mich kitzeln, dass niemand von all den scharmanten Leuten da heroben eine Ahnung hat, dass da unten ein armer, alter, zerrackter Mann herum-schleicht, dessen Spar- und Notpfennig sie auffressen halfen - .<sup>1</sup>

Middle class employers fail to recognise their responsibility to the working-class which depends on them and upon which they depend. The middle classes, Anzengruber says warningly, should cease to measure everything with money as a yardstick. Their motto, 'Geld für alles - und alles für Geld' bought them a place in society. Money is, however, a destructive as well as a constructive force, which may ultimately destroy their health and happiness, sap their strength and leave them at the mercy of the proletariat, upon whose backs they lived their lives of luxury.

Fontane wrote,

'Alles Interesse ruht beim vierten Stand. Der Bourgeois ist furchtbar, und Adel und Klerus sind altbacken, immer wieder dasselbe. Die neue bessere Welt fängt erst beim vierten Stande an...

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<sup>1</sup> Heimgfunden, Act I, sc.2. Vol.VI, p.294.

Das, was die Arbeiter denken, sprechen, schreiben, hat das Denken, Sprechen und Schreiben der altregierenden Klassen tatsächlich überholt. Alles ist viel echter, wahrer, lebensvoller.<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber sees how young and unsure the proletariat is still and how the bad example of the older classes is blighting its growth. His descriptions of the heavily drinking workmen in Schwere Zeiten hardly hold promise of a new and better world, but, on the other hand, the Tills in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell could be the corner-stone of a newly ordered society, based on honest, hard work, neighbourly good sense and secure, happy, family life. Not every working-class family is as lucky as the Tills are. The working-classes were contributing most to the increase of population in Austria and elsewhere during the last century. In the verse of a song Anzengruber refers to their housing problem and to the large families usual among them:

'Wo auf einem entern Grund,  
Wie a Dachs in seinem Bau,  
Wohnet in ein Keller unt  
Ein Arbeiter mit der Frau.  
Und wenn naht die Zeit zum Futter,  
Stehen da a Stuck a neun.  
Die dann alle: Mutter! Mutter!  
Mutter! Mutter! Mutter schrein.<sup>2</sup>

Their lives are a struggle for food and shelter. They earn a living as servants, street sweepers, seamstresses, salesgirls or factory workers; thus Chrysostomus Schnackerl in Soloszene was a town porter for some time, Friederike Heidenreich in Die Freundin a seamstress, D' Paraphuiermacher-Mali a shop assistant and Therese Schmalhofer

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from a letter to James Morris written by Fontane on February 22nd 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, Act III, sc.2. Vol.VI, p.276.

in Alte Wiener a factory girl before her marriage to a middle class widower.

One of the greatest problems facing the proletariat is the burden of the contempt of other classes. The rich especially look down on the poor who lend themselves to any scheme in order to make money.

'Eine Missneigung nach unten gibt es bei uns nicht, denn zu unterst sind wir',<sup>1</sup> comments Bergauer dryly to his employer's son, Gustav, in Ein Faustschlag. Gustav has fallen in love with Bergauer's daughter, Johanna. Frank, Gustav's father, discusses the affair with his father-in-law, Graf von Rankenstein.

Frank. Soll ich ihn vielleicht das Mädchen heiraten lassen?!

Graf. Warum nicht? Das klügste wäre es. Fabrikbesitzerssohn und Werktühererstochter, das klingt doch gar nicht so weit auseinander?!

Frank. Oho, mehr als Grafentochter und Bürgerlicher.

Graf. Das höre ich nicht heraus.

Frank. Weil Sie dafür kein Ohr haben. Eher enterbe ich ihn!<sup>2</sup>

Gustav and Johanna in Ein Faustschlag, Heinrich Wengert and Marie in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell meet on the ground of mutual respect and love which obliterate society's stigma on those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow and the toil of their hands. Self-respect and the esteem of others are necessary to a man's success. Recognition of the worth of honest, hard work would check the psychological and social suffering of the working-class. Anzengruber writes

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act II, sc.3. Vol.VI, p.54.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act II, sc.8. Vol.VI, pp.65-66.

of the waste of fine characters owing to adverse social conditions and the loss of self-respect. Among them are the de-classed Johann Tröpfelmacher in Ein Wilder von Profession, Pepi Schalanter in Das vierte Gebot and Rosa in Sumpf, who prefers to drown herself rather than rot in the corrupt factory atmosphere. Anzengruber brings many abuses and injustices to our attention, but at the same time discovers poetry in the working-class as his fragment, Stadtidylle, shows.

'Da geht die Kleine, den Korb am Arme und den winzigen Laib Brot an die Brust gedrückt. Das dumpfige Stübchen. Der Vater Wagnergeselle. Mutter, Bekannte, Sonntagsbesuch.

Der Kalender (sonst kein Buch, abgegriffene Gebetbücher). „Eine schöne Geschichte, aber ich versteh sie nicht.“ Die Aufschreibungen über Familienereignisse, Geburten, Heiraten, Todesfälle.

Der Gang auf den Friedhof.

Landpartien in nächster Nähe.

Tod des Vaters (Sterben, Aufbahren, Begraben).

Witwe und Tochter, Handarbeiterinnen. Sie springen gleich armen Leuten bei. Politik, Kunst kennen und verstehen sie nicht.

Die junge Frau (wie ihre Mutter).

Ein Mädchen - wie sie einst - geht wieder mit dem Körbchen und dem Brot.<sup>1</sup>

d) All classes mingle in parks, cafés, music-halls and other places of entertainment such as theatres, concert halls and opera-houses. The Viennese are reputed to be extraordinarily pleasure-loving, having as their motto, 'Man lebt um zu leben'.<sup>2</sup> Victor Tissot has even suggested that Austrian economic weakness is a result of Austrian hedonism:

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 325. Vol.I, p.479.

<sup>2</sup> Austria by W.R. Wilde, Dublin 1843, p.85.

'Appelons les choses par leur nom: le Viennois est viveur.... On dit que ce sont les Juifs qui ruinent le pays. N'est-ce pas plutôt le tempérament national, qui demande la jouissance à tout prix? Si cette soif inextinguible de plaisirs, de danses et de fêtes, ne dévorait pas tout le monde, on se passerait des marchands d'argent, et les Juifs ne ruineraient pas plus l'Autriche qu'ils ne ruinent la France.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber describes the Prater with its side-shows in Ein Wilder von Profession. He is indignant at the hoaxes practised upon the people and impatient at their lack of discrimination and their lamentable ignorance. The 'savage', Johann Knöpfelmacher, complains,

'Ja, solch einen Schwindel verlangt das Volk, dafür hat es ein Geld!

Mir als armem Teufel und abgewirtschaftetem Kammacher ein Zehnerl zu schenken, das wär keinem eingefallen - ... aber das Eintrittsgeld zum Wilden, das legen sie ohne Widerred nieder, da gehen sie hinein mit Weib und Kind und sehen weder was Schönes noch etwas Lehrreiches.'<sup>2</sup>

Many of Anzengruber's stories and several scenes from his plays have a café for a background. In some cafés and taverns singers and 'comics' entertain the guests. Unsere kleinen Enttäuschungen relates the story of a ballad singer and a comedian.

'Der Text, welchen die beiden ihren Liedern unterlegt hatten, bezog sich auf sehr natürlich menschliche Verhältnisse, welche jedoch nur euphemistischerweise mit "Liebe" zu bezeichnen waren, und es sah aus, als stünden die beiden Vortragenden auf einem höchst objektiven Standpunkte ausserhalb der gesellschaftlichen Sitte und des Anstandes und spotteten mit souveränem Übermute derselben. Die Palme der Ungeniertheit gebührte jedoch der Sängerin, der Sänger war etwas bescheidener.'<sup>3</sup>

Both performers are facing a miserable future, for in the end the fickle public will cast them aside and leave them to become beggars.

'Alle zusammen beflittertes Elend, geschmückte Sorge.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vienne et la vie viennoise by Victor Tissot, Paris 1878, 17.éd., p.452.

<sup>2</sup> Ein Wilder von Profession. Vol.XIII, pp.29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Unsere kleinen Enttäuschungen. Vol.XIII, p.70.

<sup>4</sup> Bei den "Künstlern" vor der Linie by Fritz Lemmermayer in Wienerstadt - Lebensbilder aus der Gegenwart, Wien 1895, p.183.



Anzengruber complains most bitterly about the fate of the theatre in Austria. It should not be simply for amusement. Those who could afford to go to the theatre were like Schmalhofer in Alte Wiener, who declares,

'Was Traurigs mag ich mir nit anschaun, dös hat mer so gnug im Leben; wann ich geh, so will ich lachen, und dass mer sich allweil dö Dummheiten anschaut, das wird ein'm a mit der Zeit zwider.'<sup>1</sup>

Such demands made Anzengruber despair of his mission to enlighten and teach the ordinary people through the theatre. The desire for a whirl of gaiety, either in keeping with their artificial, luxurious way of living or as a means of escape from grey reality, ensures the popularity of the French farce or the operetta. Money buys the work of Strauss, O.F. Berg and Offenbach, while Anzengruber confesses to Josephine Gallmeyer:

'damals galt mir das Theater, die Bühne, nicht nur für mich als der Weg aus Drang und Not, sondern überhaupt als solcher für das zeitgenössische Publikum; mälig drängte sich mir die Ueberzeugung auf, es sei eben die Schaustellung von Stücken ein Geschäft wie jedes andere.'<sup>2</sup>

'Sie wollens ja nicht anders! Bitten und Warnen hilft ja nicht! Da draussen auf der Au reiten sie beim Wettrennen Pferde zu Tode, die Tausende von Gulden gekostet, und fünfzig Schritte daneben stürzt sich von der Donaubrücke ein Weib mit ihrem Kinde vor Hungersnot ins Wasser. Es ist ein -- mir graust.'<sup>3</sup>

Gambling is a national failing of long standing in Austria.

Francis Palmer in his Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country writes,

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<sup>1</sup> Alte Wiener, Act I, sc.4. Vol.V, p.254.

<sup>2</sup> An Josephine Gallmeyer, Wien den 18.Dezember 1883. Bfe.II, p.165.

<sup>3</sup> Erinnerungen an Ludwig Anzengruber by P.K. Rosegger in Heimgarten, 1892.

'Among social amusements, I have already alluded to the gambling mania - bridge, snail races.... More than one ancestral estate changed hands as a result of bets upon this absurd pastime. The evil of gambling has, in fact, now reached a point in Austro-Hungary that has compelled the Government to take very active measures for its suppression.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber remarks again that the wealthy are socially irresponsible and tainted by riches in a letter to Bolin, from a summer holiday-resort, Weidlingau, near Vienna.

'In dem Gasthause, das ich hier besuche, sammelt sich immer ein Tisch voll Geldprotzen, die mit Tausenden und Häusern (alles Plural), die sie besitzen, nur so herumwerfen, dass einem Menschenkinde, das nichts besitzt, ganz bange in seiner Haut wird. Aber dass diese Kerle trotz alledem raunzen, dass sie gar keinen Gebrauch von ihren Gütern zu machen wissen, dass sie sich nachmittags hinsetzen, um Karten zu spielen, nur um nicht zu ver-gähnen vor eigener Langweiligkeit und Nichtigkeit, das versöhnt einen wieder, nicht mit dem Geschick - das bleibt bei alledem dumm - sondern mit der „Existenz“ dieser Geschöpfe.'<sup>2</sup>

Upon reviewing Anzengruber's representations of the town and the townspeople we can clearly see that he wanted city conditions and city dwellers simplified and purified. He wished to establish family life as the ideal social organisation for the rearing of future citizens, so that they may discover the true meaning of life under all the glitter of chandeliers and tinsel drapings of polite society. To this end he desired the townspeople to look up to the working-class which was at that time uncorrupted by money, and particularly some suburban dwellers, 'Brave Leut vom Grund.' Correcting the faults of the

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<sup>1</sup> Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country by Francis H.E. Palmer, London, 1904, p.171.

<sup>2</sup> An Bolin, Weidlingau, den 3.August 1880. Bfe.II, p.79.

Viennese and of townspeople in general was a labour of love for Anzengruber. He was their conscience. Apart from the Schöns in Das vierte Gebot, the Tills in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell, Thomas Hammer in Heimgfunden, Kernhofer in Alte Wiener, Amalia in Brave Leut vom Grund and the Heidenreichs in Die Freundin there are few town characters who do not need to change their ways - curb their snobbishness and senseless extravagance, put aside their social irresponsibility and piece together their shattered family life. In the exceptions mentioned above Anzengruber allows himself to praise the 'goldene Weaner Herz' and the wholesome good sense of the best of suburban dwellers. These good qualities are, however, overshadowed by greed and hypocrisy, which hinder progress toward an ideal state of society.

Anzengruber had to contend with 'the Mammon-quakings dire as earth's' which in the 19th century produced 'twin progeny, a new middle class without tradition and a raw industrial proletariat'.<sup>1</sup> He agreed with Trevelyan that the most pressing need was for an extended system of education. Anzengruber, whose main aim was progress, perceived that his hopes were more likely to be realised in the towns than in the country, because the traditional 'gottgewollte' order of the country would hinder progress, whereas in the towns concerted effort might be sustained. But first of all love of money which distorts the face of urban society would have to yield to love of one's fellow men, and men would have to drop their artificial and hypocritical social and business masks.

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<sup>1</sup> English Social History by George Macaulay Trevelyan, London 1947, p.517.

CHAPTER SIX.

CHAPTER SIX.

INDUSTRIALISATION.

Industrialisation swept through Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries like the terrible goddess of Progress in Anzengruber's tale, Jaggernaut:

'Blut, Schweiss und Gehirn netzten die Radnaben des furchtbaren Wagens, der in der Furche von zermalmten Leibern unhörbar und erschreckend schnell herankam.'<sup>1</sup>

Unemployment, movement of workers from the country into towns, inadequate housing, long hours and low wages - conditions which in England had used up nine generations of men in one generation of workers - reached Austria in the nineteenth century. In 1848 Austria's proletariat first made demands for workers' rights, only to be gagged again by a reactionary government. Employers and other authorities treated workers like cattle or machines, as Bergauer protests in Ein Faustschlag. Liberal policy from 1860 onwards paid no heed to the plight of 'industrial slaves'. The gap between rich and poor widened. Anxious to become rich quickly, all classes of the population took to speculating. Railways and houses were the main attractions for capital. False prosperity reigned for a brief space and then came the crash, in 1873. After the 'Krach' more normal and healthy economic conditions prevailed in Austria.

Anzengruber chose several problems of industrialisation, which he considered to be the most common and most pressing for solution - relations between employer and worker, mechanisation, the fate of

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<sup>1</sup> Jaggernaut. Vol.XIV, p.6.

artisans, Jewish competition and the general rights and living conditions of the proletariat. Ein Faustschlag is Anzengruber's contribution to the understanding of the main difficulties in the relationship between employer and employee. The days of slaves seemed not yet over when this play was written. Workers were still forbidden to combine, because, as their employers well knew, their real power lay in their numbers and if they once combined, they could then take by force whatever they wanted. Ferdinand Frank, a member of the new-rich class, is typical of the impersonal factory-owner, living by virtue of his wealth and possessions in a sphere far removed from the workers who earn his money for him. For him there is no 'fourth class'.<sup>x</sup> In Act I, scene 10, he is unpleasantly surprised by a deputation of workers led by the foreman, Bergauer, who have come to congratulate him upon his taking over the factory in Vienna, left to him by his dead brother. They continue:

'Wir bitten nun, dass auch Sie dieses gedeihliche Verhältnis fortbestehen lassen, in welchem der Arbeiter seinerseits gerne aus freier Antriebe seine volle Kraft einsetzt und der Fabrikherr andererseits auf die volle Arbeitskraft und Ausdauer seiner Leute zählen kann, so dass das Institut einem lebendigen Organismus gleicht - .'<sup>1</sup>

But Ferdinand Frank is different from his brother, 'der billige Ansprüche förderte und überspannte schonend verwies und so in doppelter Beziehung ein echter Freund der Arbeiter war.'<sup>2</sup> Frank impatiently interrupts the foreman, thus confirming the suspicions of the workers

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<sup>1 and 2.</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.10. Vol.VI, p.32.

<sup>x</sup> Frank. Kurz einen vierten Stand kenne ich nicht. (Act I, sc.10, Vol.VI, p.34.).



who had already heard of his reputation in Brunn, where his own factory is situated. He curtly declares that he intends to visit them in the factory where they belong.

'Die Ansichten meines Bruders habe ich nie geteilt', he declares, 'die Vereinsspielerien, die dem Arbeiter nur von seinem Berufe abziehen, müssen unter mir ein Ende nehmen ... niemand teilt mit mir das Risiko und den Verlust, so werde ich auch den Gewinn nicht teilen.'<sup>1</sup>

The latter view was shared by many capitalists, and is advanced by Dreissiger in Hauptmann's Die Weber, as an excuse for the inhumane treatment of workers. Frank declares that he recognises no proletariat. For him there exists merely the worker who has his duty to do in return for the wages paid him. He is very much opposed to the workers' desire to better themselves. Having explained what he expects of the workers he dismisses them abruptly. They are, however, roused by this time and urge Bergauer to reply.

Although he runs the risk of being dismissed, Bergauer points out how difficult it is for employers and employees to find common ground, except as human beings subjected to the common lot of man, hard times, the sickness and death of wife and child. Employers cannot understand the precariousness of a workman's position - his daily struggles and worries, and the pangs of hunger he suffers. Bergauer exclaims:

'Ich wollte, wir wären, wofür ihr uns nehmt, Maschinen! Wir sind es eben nicht, können es nicht sein, wir fühlen uns zum grossen Ganzen gehörig und an dieses appellieren wir, dass es zu friedlichem Kampfe um unsere Interessen uns die Schranken öffne und uns vor Willkür schütze.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.10. Vol.VI, p.33.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.35.

Frank replies brutally, vaunting that he is not to be frightened by the mob. (With this word Anzengruber deliberately recalls the uprising of the oppressed against their oppressors in the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830 and the European upheavals of 1848). Frank tauntingly points out to the workers that they have nothing to lose and calls them cowards. Bergauer calms the enraged crowd and reminds the factory owner that he is talking to men of flesh and blood, telling him that he is provoking them to hatred. Frank thereupon dismisses the foreman and spokesman. Kammauf, a socialist, mutters, 'Ho Redefreiheit!' The workers agree to go with their foreman, who calls upon them to preserve the peace and maintain order, for they are bringing home bad news to their wives and the last bit of bread to their children.

In Act I scene 15 Frank looks to his father-in-law, Graf von Rankenstein, for praise of his energetic behaviour. The Count replies,

'Was sagten Sie viel? Dass Sie keinen vierten Stand kennen? Je nun, auch wir kannten keinen dritten. Und was haben Sie getan? Zirke zweihundert Leute brotlos gemacht.'<sup>1</sup>

The workers had no other alternative after the way they had been treated. Frank rejects the Count's warnings of a possible revolt. Shooting and oppression are remedies for fools and revolts. He insists that he was merely protecting his rights and yet feels his guilt, which lies in his misplaced, defensive action. In his selfishness he maintains that it is better to inflict injustice than to suffer it. The Count suggests that he treat the people as children who often demand the

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.15. Vol.VI, pp.42-43.

impossible, but in the end are content with a little given at the right moment. Frank objects that they themselves often do not know what they want.

The Count answers,

'Dazu wären andere da. Aber ihr seid ja auch Kinder. Kinder, die ihr Spielzeug - damit ihnen keine fremde Hand daran rühre - in den Schrank schliessen und ihm darüber selbst entwachsen, während die andern alles zerschlagen wollen, weil das dann mehr Stücke gäbe und auf jeden eines käme. Ihr seid alle Kinder.... Ei, da kriegt ihr Respekt vor der Zeit und begreift, dass sie - die Menschen so ändert - überhaupt nichts im Bestand lassen kann und dass alles, immer eins aus dem andern, auch ein anderes wird!'<sup>1</sup>

Patience, understanding and tact are necessary in dealing with workers. The aristocracy, represented by the Count, seems much more sympathetic towards the working class than are the new rich - perhaps because both aristocracy and proletariat have suffered at the hands of factory-owners. The other side of the picture is presented by Anzengruber in the von Weissberg family,<sup>2</sup> belonging to the arrogant, selfish, parasitical, petty nobility who expect, and take, everything as their due. Marie von Weissberg marries 'the factory' as her aunt had done before her, so that the family may continue to live on the profits. The former owner of the factory, Konrad von Weissberg's brother-in-law, had intended to put an end to his wife's family's self-seeking by leaving the factory to Heinrich Wengert, a peasant's son and his foreman. Not only is there a contrast between rich industrialist and poor aristocrat, 'a penniless lass with a long pedigree', but also a comparison between town and country. Heinrich's father, Martin Wengert,

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<sup>1</sup> Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell. Vol.VII.

says to Till, foreman in the factory, 'I wollt mein Sohn hätt so a frische Birn derwischt und du häst sein Stadtfräula!'<sup>1</sup> His marriage hinders Heinrich's industrial projects. He has to learn different manners, to live in town and entertain. His wife's relations propose that he should return to his factory and leave Marie to her social pleasures in town. In the end love and honour overcome class differences and artificialities. Marie is willing to share her husband's life and be a workman's wife. For her, society's low opinion of the working-class no longer seems just or fitting. In the last song of the play work is extolled and the worth of a worker's hard, honest hand is celebrated as acceptable in the sight of God.

The Count von Rankenstein expresses the views of the enlightened aristocracy in Ein Faustschlag Act I, scene 8,

'wenn der Staat forderte, für seinen Bestand und Frieden forderte, dass alle seine Bürger in gleicher Linie ständen, glauben Sie mir, die Besten unter uns wären die ersten, die in eure Reihen hinabstiegen, die Besten, die Gebildetsten denn die Bildung, Herr Schwiegersohn, die ist in Ihrem Sinne ein Unglück für den Betreffenden, den Gebildeten widert jede Roheit an und er weiss kein Mittel sich ihrer zu erwehren, als nach und nach die Halbgebildeten zu ganzen zu machen und langsam die Bestien zu Menschen zu züchten.'<sup>2</sup>

Von Rankenstein refuses to allow his name to pass on to his grandsons as his ambitious son-in-law wishes. False pride of position founded on money or birth must give way. Like Tolstoi Anzengruber deplores the unproductive, purposeless existence of 'those who live on the backs of others.'<sup>3</sup> The dignity and value of work must be recognised by society, for work well done ought to command respect and reward.

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<sup>1</sup> Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell, Act II, sc.2. Vol.VII, p.79.

<sup>2</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.8. Vol.VI, p.29.

<sup>3</sup> What then shall we do? by Leo Tolstoi, tr. by Aylmer Maude, p.224.

Bergauer recounts a personal experience in Ein Faustschlag, Act II, scenes 10 and 11, which illustrates the social position of the worker. During festivities in the Prater a man had trodden on his wife's foot, but refused to apologise. Instead, as one of those who made it possible for workers to earn their living, he had punched Bergauer in the face. With that punch Bergauer's marriage was ruined, for his wife now pitied him and scorned her station. She left him and their child. He continues:

'Mein Arbeitskittel war's, der mir die Schmach ins Gesicht und die Schande ins Haus lud, da hielt ich denn mit den andern Blusen zusammen, dass eine Uniform daraus würde, gegen die man sich nicht so viel herausnähme. Ich war einer der Wildesten und wär es geblieben bis auf den heutigen Tag, wär mein Kind nicht gewesen....'<sup>1</sup>

The factory owner, Frank, confesses that he has been the cause of Bergauer's sufferings, but pleads that the future may be allowed to atone for past wrongs. Frank's son, Gustav, is to marry Bergauer's daughter, Johanna, and take over the factory in Vienna, assisted by his father-in-law. The play ends with a symbolic family scene. Bergauer looks forward to a new era.

'Jedem das Seine, doch jedem etwas, dass nicht tausend Keime verkümmern und verkrümmen, das jeder werden mag, was an ihm liegt, und man von den Hütten neidlos nach euren Palästen ausblicke. Das wollen wir anstreben in ehrlicher Arbeit und in Eintracht.'<sup>2</sup>

Contrasted with the serious, sensible Bergauer is the 'Comptoir-diener', Leopold Kammauf, Anzengruber's caricature of a socialist. The 'party', fed on slogans and fiery speeches, was an international danger

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act II, sc.11. Vol.VI, p.73-74.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.8. Vol.VI, p.88.

not to be overcome by repressive legislation. Liberal non-interference and self-interest had caused membership of the party to increase. Kammauf is a coxcomb, lacking courage and character and true sympathy for his fellows. The Socialist party does not appear to have any great influence among the workers in Frank's factory - possibly because the former owner had been so fair in his dealings with the men. Kammauf betrays with his first words that he belongs to the party for purely selfish reasons. None of the workers expect to share in the profits except Kammauf. In Ein Faustschlag, Act I, scene 13 he gives vent to his confused thoughts, believing himself to be alone. Anzengruber presents the 'principles of the red flag' in Kammauf's outburst.

'Warum brenne ich dem Kassier nicht mit der Geldtasche durch? Weil ich denke, Geduld, das Gerstl kommt so wie so in die allgemeine Teilung. Ein Bedenken, das ganz den Effekt der Ehrlichkeit macht! Warum geh ich an Weibern und Töchtern verhältnisslos vorüber? Weil ich denke, Geduld, der Nachwuchs wird ohnehin gemeinsam. Ein Bedenken, das ganz den Effekt der Tugend macht! Warum schlendere ich an den Palästen der Geldprotzen gleichmütig vorbei? Weil ich denke, Geduld und - Petroleum! Ein Bedenken, das ganz den Effekt der Friedfertigkeit macht! Und diese Oriflamme, welche bedeutet die Sicherheit des Eigentums und der Familie und den persönlichen Schutz, diese sollte man zu beleidigen wagen mit Worten, wie sie hier gefallen sind?!'<sup>1</sup>

When Frank and a servant appear, Kammauf suddenly loses his nerve. As soon as they have gone, however, he breaks out once more in high-sounding expressions which he immediately modifies, 'Ne, ne das ist etwas zu stark, das könnte gegen einen Paragraphen verstossen.'<sup>2</sup> Popular words and phrases - 'die Brut', 'der Tyrann', 'die Reihen der Brüder' pepper his speech. He is jealous of Bergauer and only too glad

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.13. Vol.VI, pp.38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act I, sc.13. Vol.VI, p.39.



to seize the opportunity to harm his position as leader of the workers, when he hears of the possible marriage of Gustav Frank and Johanna Bergauer - a union between capitalism and proletarianism. Kammauf does succeed for a while in rousing the suspicions of the factory-workers who must always fear betrayal and exploitation.

Anzengruber, besides showing the potential power of socialism, brings out the destructive tendencies of the rabid socialist in Kammauf's words, 'mich geniert bloss das Bestehende',<sup>1</sup> and in his attempt to set fire to a warehouse. He is caught and ordered to relinquish his petrol can. His reply is

'Diesen Verjüngungstrank des vermorschenden Geschlechtes, der noch die Wiedergeburt mit feurigen Zungen predigen wird?  
Niemals.'<sup>2</sup>

Asked by Frank if he has no conscience or fear of God or feeling of responsibility towards others he denies their very existence.

'Mein Vater war ein ehrlicher Mann, meine Mutter eine fromme Frau, meine Schwester ein unschuldiges Mädchen, da haben Sie Pflichtgefühl gegen andere, Gottesfurcht und Gewissen. Mein Vater starb im Armenhaus, meine Mutter musste sich für uns Kindern zu Tode arbeiten, meine Schwester kam zur - Kavallerie!'<sup>3</sup>

Because society did nothing for them he does not feel bound to respect any institution or tradition. He declares that the only two places where people behave humanely to their fellows are hospitals and prisons.

Anzengruber presents two possible solutions of the employer-employee problem in Ein Faustschlag - the ways indicated by reason, discussion and moderation, or by passion, force and destruction, the

<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act II, sc.7. Vol.VI, p.50.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act III, sc.6. Vol.VI, p.81.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.82.

former advocated by Bergauer, the latter by Kammauf. Since the turn of the century unorganised workers had made isolated attempts to attract attention to their unhappy lot. Gradually writers took up their cause, especially the Naturalists. Zola described the despair of the unemployed facing death by starvation. Hauptmann told of the destruction of machinery by workers tried beyond endurance. Tolstoi denounced the wealthy, leisured classes as irrespons<sup>P</sup><sub>A</sub>ible parasites. Shaw appeared later to deride British smugness and hypocrisy. Dr. Johann Rohr in his Tausend Jahre deutsches Leben<sup>1</sup> described the effect of free competition in industry which led to overpopulation and concentration of capital. The workers, emboldened by hunger and despair, defied their tormentors and began to organise themselves into trades unions in 1865, forming the Social democratic party in 1869. In Wien, die Geschichte einer deutschen Grossstadt an der Grenze<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Walter follows the struggle for proletarian rights in Austria. The Christian-Socialist party was founded in 1888, a year before Anzengruber's death, and legislation in favour of the workers was undertaken only in the next decade. But Anzengruber urged the need for such legislation years before it came into being. He shows in Ein Faustschlag that workers ought to be granted the right to form associations for their own defence, and pleaded with such pictures as those of Most-Bartl in

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<sup>1</sup> Tausend Jahre deutsches Leben by Dr. Johann Rohr, Berlin 1931, pp.221-222.

<sup>2</sup> Wien - die Geschichte einer deutschen Grossstadt an der Grenze. Bd.3: Die neueste Zeit by Friedrich Walter, Wien 1944. Chapter, 'Die "liberale Ara"', p.284 ff..

Ein Wiedersehn and the workers' wives in Ein Faustschlag for relief for the unemployed. Their fate at present is,

'Fasten wenn nichts auf den Tisch kommt, der Manne keinen Vorwurf machen, wenn es zu nichts führt, das ist euer ganzer Heroismus und das ist gerade, was man fürs Haus braucht. Was wisst ihr was den Mann bindet, was ihn viel, ja alles ertragen macht fürs Allgemeine? Lieber hungern als als falsche Tarte ein grosses Spiel verderben.'<sup>1</sup>

Measures ought to be taken, too, to protect the health of workers and to compensate them for injuries received through machines or chemical processes connected with their work. Fragment 329 entitled Opfer der Industrie tells the pathetic story of a romance cut short by disease resulting in early death - the fate of match makers. Anzengruber does not plead directly for those **who** had to work sixteen hours a day, but he shows in Ein Wilder von Profession the evil effects of long working hours from dawn till sunset on family life.

Great economic confusion was caused by the disappearance<sup>a</sup> of the trade guilds which ensured a living to skilled craftsmen, protecting their interests by controlling the numbers admitted to learn the trade and the prices of goods, setting a standard of quality and regulating the market by monopoly. A qualified apprentice was supposed to have received an all-round training in every phase of his trade, so that he was more or less independent and could take a pride in an entire piece of work of his own making. Modern methods have changed the individual workshop into the factory where, for the sake of speed, processes are divided into many stages and one man must specialise in making some

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Faustschlag, Act I, sc.3. Vol.VI, p.71.

small part of a part until he himself becomes a 'Teil<sup>mens</sup>sch', or a mere unthinking piece of machinery. Anzengruber takes his example of such a man, not from a factory, but from an office, where a poorly paid clerk has ceased to be a human being and become a 'Schreibmaschine'. (Aus'm gewohnten Gleis.) Despite the abuses to which the apprentice system was subject, there seemed at least to be some soul in the <sup>handicraftman's</sup> traditions. The fate of the little apprentice in Die Kameradin is typical of thousands of unfortunate lads who had to spend years with brutal masters, learning nothing of their trade and being treated like animals.

'So? Könnt Ihr es vor Eurem Gewissen verantworten und vor den Leuten, denen der Junge angehört, dass Ihr denselben statt ihn ehrenhaft in Eurem Handwerk zu unter<sup>wei</sup>sen, nicht besser in Eurem Hause haltet wie einen Hund, den die Kinder plagen dürfen? Pfui, nicht einmal ein Tier liesse ich von meinem Kinde zum Zeitvertreib so schinden!'

To this outburst of Brigitte her uncle replies, 'So denkt halt ihr Bauern.'<sup>1</sup> Many are the tales told of poor apprentices beaten and starved by their masters, employed as domestic servants and nurse-maids, overworked and unpaid. Blake's, Kingsley's and Dickens's little chimney-sweeps would have found many unhappy comrades among the Austrian apprentices of Anzengruber's day. In his Das vierte Gebot Anzengruber describes the Schalanter's apprentice, Michel.

Barbara. Hast wieder geschlafen?

Michel. Ja, und träumt, dass ich Draxler werd'n soll.

Barbara (zu Johann). Er ist ein Skandal, der Meister schaut gar nit auf ihn, auf einmal wird sein Lehrzeit um sein und er wird nix verstehn.

Michel. Das macht nix, die Genossenschaft muss mich doch von der Draxlerei freisprechen - wegen Mangel an Beweis.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Die Kameradin. Vol.XIII, p.150.

<sup>2</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.10. Vol.V, p.166.

German contemporaries of Anzengruber also reported the plight of Austrian apprentices. A detailed account of the life some of them were leading is to be found in Die Lage der Lehrlinge im Kleingewerbe in Wien by Dr. Johann Pollitzer. Anzengruber may have chosen a shoemaker's apprentice intentionally, for Pollitzer singled out shoemakers and joiners. 'Brutale körperliche Züchtigungen der Lehrlinge kommen noch am häufigsten bei Schuhmachern und Tischlern vor',<sup>1</sup> we read on page 59, and on page 78, 'Dass die Schuhmacher ihre Lehrlinge zu allem andern als zu gewerblichen Arbeiten verwenden ist in Wien allbekannt und ein von jeher bestehender Zustand.'<sup>2</sup> Vinzenz Chiavacci composed a tragi-comical letter for his Wiener vom alten Schläge:

'Lehrbuben-Genossen! Kohmt zon Holzblattz auf der Rohsauer Lehd. Einichgeid macht starg! Es muhs etwas geschehng! Die Kohst ist zu schlächt - das ewiche Kraut nihmt die Lebenslust und verwigelt die Gedirm! Abschaffung der Briegelstraß. Kein Flohtrücherl mehr! Aale habe was erreicht, nur mir nicht. Mir sind doch auch Arier. Scham 'Dich neinzehntes Jahrhundert! Komz Aale. Gips weiter. / Für das Gomideh, der Obub: / Scharinger Pepi.'<sup>3</sup>

The artisan class was threatening to disappear. It was being crushed out of existence or down into the ranks of the proletariat. By the middle of the century masters were finding it increasingly difficult to compete with the factories and with foreign industry and many went under. Brigitte's uncle, a shoemaker, tries to keep up with the times by calling himself a shoe manufacturer, although he has but one apprentice. His whole family lives in one room and has one bed. The

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<sup>1</sup> Die Lage der Lehrlinge im Kleingewerbe in Wien by Dr. Johann Pollitzer, p.59.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.78.

<sup>3</sup> Wiener vom alten Schläge by Vinzenz Chiavacci. Stuttgart 1895, pp.17-18.

atmosphere is so close that even the gas jet finds it hard to burn. Brigitte, a country girl, decides that the life of a village cobbler is preferable to that of a town shoe manufacturer. In Ein Wiedersehen Anzengruber recounts the story of Most-Bartl who had worked for seven years for the same furniture manufacturer.

'Seit die Gewerbebefreiheit jedem jedes zu treiben erlaubt, ob er es nun versteht oder nicht, nennen sich alle, die Einrichtungsstücke für Wohnungen feilhalten, Möbelfabrikanten.'<sup>1</sup>

Most-Bartl's employer had begun on a large scale with fifty workers, for of course as a manufacturer he did not want to have anything to do with journeymen. Trouble begins when his employees look on themselves as workers and go on strike. The employer then takes advantage of every unfavourable situation to cut down his staff and their wages. Most-Bastl, Most-Bartl's namesake, attends social democratic meetings and calls his employer 'Burschoah' and 'Tyrammensauger'. But at Easter everything changes, for the capital is all used up and so the workers are dismissed. Most-Bartl decides to make Easter lambs and sell them in taverns and restaurants at night, because he does not possess a hawking licence. He is called a disguised beggar by many. After meeting his first love again, who has become a gin drinker, he reflects that everyone can do something against hunger but there is no help for utter misery and despair. He will be all right, as long as he can retain the self-respect so necessary to the lower classes to protect them from the degradation of poverty.

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<sup>1</sup> Ein Wiedersehen. Vol.XIII, p.294.



In his Das vierte Gebot Anzengruber depicts for us the downward path of a cabinet-maker. The master, Schalanter, is shown returning home from the tavern as his journeyman is finishing his day's work. Schalanter's son, Martin, has been accepted that day as a recruit for the army and the proud father wants to celebrate, but there have been no takings in the shop. In Act II, scene 4, Martin, home on leave, asks his father how his business is doing. Schalanter replies that they have given it up. The apprentice's parents take him away because he has learned nothing, and they have to dismiss the lovelorn journeyman and then the servants. Finally they decide to take in 'Bettgeher', to turn to account the number of empty rooms in the house. Schalanter finds a little work now and then and Pepi, his sister, works in a coffee-house. Martin retorts that she does them little honour. And so in their children the parents, formerly members of the artisan class, sink to the lowest depths of society - their daughter a prostitute, their son a murderer. Schalanter whines to Stolzenthaler, 'Mir klein Gewerbsleut sein eh aufs Betteln angewiesen, is gscheiter, man entschliesst sich gleich dazu.'<sup>1</sup> Begging would perhaps have been a better fate.

The first paragraph of Ein Wilder von Profession is typical of the experience of de-classed artisans.

'Johann Knöpfelmacher hiess er, war aber Kammacher gewesen, Das waren sein besten Tage, als er seine Werkstätte auftat, zwei Gesellen beschäftigte, ein dralles Weibchen in der Küche wusste

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act II, sc.7. Vol.V, p.194.

und in der Stube zwei übermütige Knirpse sich herumtreiben sah, die sich auf den Dielen wälzten und die Hornspäne bliesen, dass sie davonstoben. Aber die Herrlichkeit dauerte nicht lange, von „da draussen“ wurden Kämme auf den Markt gebracht, die trotz Zoll und Spesen wohlfeiler kamen, als sie hierorts zu erzeugen waren, was Wunder, dass sie denn auch von den Leuten gekauft wurden? Da musste denn erst der eine Geselle, dann der andere weggegeben werden, und bald fielen gar keine Späne mehr auf den rein gescheuerten Stubenboden. Nun ging die Frau Kammacherin zu den Leuten ins Haus waschen, und der Herr Meister bediente ein paar alleinstehende Junggesellen...<sup>1</sup>

Herr Knöpfelmacher finds employment as a savage in a side-show in the Prater. He is disgusted at the unjust and degrading job he has to do - 'Aber was tut man nicht alles für Weib und Kind!<sup>2</sup> He adds that ruined small business people like himself are no longer an uncommon sight in Vienna. Some fought against overwhelming economic odds by taking part in the widespread speculation which affected Austria and especially the capital in the late '60s and early '70s. They could see like Der gekränkte Gatte that times had changed and business was going from bad to worse. Herr von Hobichler merely hastens an unavoidable end through his laziness and self-indulgence. But he refuses to accept any blame. It is his parents' fault for not having taught him how to speculate.

'Der gewerbliche Fortschritt und die wachsende Konkurrenz überholen die altväterische Erzeugungsweis, und mit 'm Pfennigdrücken kommt man dagegen nicht auf, es stünd mir auch gar nicht an, ich bin besser zu leben gewohnt und denk mir nichts abgehen zu lassen, und was mehr aufgeht, das muss durch Spekulation herein.'<sup>3</sup>

Herr von Hobichler travels around seeking experience and orders in various inns, leaving his wife to look after the business. After five years they have to dismiss half of the journeymen and think themselves

<sup>1</sup> Ein Wilder von Profession. Vol.XIII, p.15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.31.

<sup>3</sup> Der gekränkte Gatte. Vol.XIII, p.542.

lucky to be able to work for a bigger manufacturer which is not very profitable. Finally their customers desert them, because some rascal is able to offer a cheaper article. They sell their business at a very low price and move into a smaller house. Herr Hobichler suggests that they let a room to a gentleman boarder. The end of the story is that Herr Hobichler, having thrown his wife and the boarder together, now lives on money given him by his wife's lover. Wilhelm Angerstein in his Volkswirtschaftliche Zustände in Österreich reports on the speculating habit: 'Die Tendenz des gesamten Börsenlebens läuft darauf hinaus, Einzelne zu Crösussen zu machen und die Hunderttausende, die den sogenannten Mittelstand bilden an den Bettelstab zu bringen.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber declares in Aphorism 674, 'Weltgeschichte ist das Börsengericht.'<sup>2</sup> He dislikes foreign capital interfering with the lives of the people. In Aphorism 676, Das Kapital, he imagines how capitalists may finance wars.

'Man möchte aufschreiben: lieber die Anarchie als den Geldsack als Herrscher, als dass nach neuer Politik ein Bankier irgendwo eingreift in die Geschicke des weitab liegenden Landes.'<sup>3</sup>

Unscrupulous promoters found the urge to 'get rich quick' as seductive as the pipe of the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Thousands joined in the great wave of speculation which followed the Franco-Prussian war, as a result of foreign purchasers' and capitalists' turning to Austria instead of to France or Germany. Liberal<sup>a</sup>ism, Jewish capital and enterprise, the war in neighbouring lands, the International Exhibition

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<sup>1</sup> Volkswirtschaftliche Zustände in Österreich by Wilhelm Angerstein, Leipzig 1871, p.44.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 674. Vol.VIII, p.197.

<sup>3</sup> Gott und Welt. Vol.VIII, p.197-8.

afforded many opportunities for dishonest transactions, bubble companies and exploitation of investors of every class. Population increased because there was work to be had in building railways and houses. The houses, however, were for the lucky speculators who had amassed great fortunes. Palaces were built on the newly cleared sites available after the old city fortifications had been demolished,<sup>\*</sup> while workers lived wretchedly, finding it difficult to hire a bed or even half of a bed for the night. The State, too, joined in the mad gold rush and incurred a huge debt which it sought to reduce by sanctioning State lotteries and increasing taxes. Anzengruber begins his complaint about the state of Vienna's streets:

'Es soll hier nicht von der finanziellen Lage Wiens die Rede sein, obwohl wir wissen, dass Wien auch nach dieser Richtung "tief im Kot" steckt, die Wasserversorgung, der Rathausbau etc. etc. kosten Wien so viel, dass neuerlich geborgt werden muss...'<sup>1x</sup>

Anzengruber mentions the rise in the cost of living which affects women workers and petty officials and those whose capacity for working is impaired, much more than those who can haggle over the price of their labour.

In Der kewige Jud and Ein Unheimlicher Anzengruber touches on the Jewish problem which has become increasingly acute in Austria. Up until 1848 Jews were considered a race apart, living in ghettos with a very limited choice of occupation. Victor Tissot in his Vienne et la

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<sup>1</sup> Tief im Kot. Vol.XV, p.352. (February 1873).

<sup>\*</sup> See the chapter on 'Anzengruber - the Town and the Townspeople.' pp. 161-163.

vie viennoise claims that the emancipation of the Jews was not completed until 1856. After that they flourished under Liberalism:

'Qui a bâti tous ces palais qui font de Vienne une ville incomparable? Les Juifs. À qui appartient la presse autrichienne? Aux Juifs. Qui tient l'argent de la monarchie? Les Juifs.'<sup>1</sup>

Statistics given in Gayda's Modern Austria show that

'from 1869 to 1890 the Jews in Austria increased at the rate of 27% while the Christians only increased by 0.77%. In 1857 there were 32 Jews to every 1,000 inhabitants in Vienna - in 1890 there were 122 per 1,000.'<sup>2</sup>

Whitman gives the total population of Austria-Hungary as 37,786,346 and the number of Jews 1,643,708 according to the Census of 1880.

He suggests, as does Gayda, too, that

'the power of the Jews in Austria affords us, by reason of the antagonism it encounters everywhere, an exact scale by which to measure the inertia of the Austrians in competing with them'.<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber describes a 'good' Jew in Ein Unheimlicher to whom friendship means more than money, although he knows the value of money well.

'Geld ist ein grosses Wort und ohne Geld was wäret ihr selber?... Geld macht uns zu Menschen, und alle Leut wären gern Menschen!'<sup>4</sup>

reflects Aaron. And indeed money had been the consolation of generations of Jews to whom the rights and freedom of human beings had been denied. But many wished to make scapegoats of the successful Jews of whom they were envious, and thus Anti-Semitism appeared in society and

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<sup>1</sup> Vienne et la vie viennoise by Victor Tissot. 17.éd. Paris 1878, p.150.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Austria by Virginio Gayda. London 1915, p.178.

<sup>3</sup> The Realm of the Habsburgs by Sidney Whitman. London 1893, p.77.

<sup>4</sup> Ein Unheimlicher. Vol.XV, p.214.

politics. Anzengruber's attitude to the 'Judenjagd' is by turns rueful, exasperated and apprehensive but always humorous. His Der kewige Jud reveals the extent of Jewish penetration and the Midas touch of the children of Israel. We follow the career of Aron Pulverbestandte 'was handeln tut mit alte Gewandteil' to his success 'af der Börres'.<sup>1</sup> All manner of persecutions merely turn to his financial advantage and finally we see him secure behind his great wealth and his title and position

'Als den gnädigen Baron Salpeter,  
Präses vom Antisemitenverein.'<sup>2</sup>

The German rhyme quoted by Sidney Whitman proves that the bestowing of titles upon wealthy Jews was quite common,

'Jeder Schmul wird Consul,  
Jeder Aaron wird Baron.'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber finishes his play with the words,

'O heiliger Herrgott, bitte für  
Dass uns die Juden leben lassen!'<sup>4</sup>

In the country districts as well as in the towns Jews were to be found as pedlars and money-lenders sucking the peasants dry and often confiscating their land. The Jewish creditor in Zu Fromm is restrained, happily for the villagers, from ejecting the Neumayers. When farms change hands, it is often disastrous for the interdependent village community. Since peasants were allowed after 1848 to possess land if

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<sup>1</sup> Der kewige Jud: Vorspiel im Himmel. Vol.VII, p.376.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Act V. Vol.VII, p.397.

<sup>3</sup> The Realm of the Habsburgs by Sidney Whitman. London 1893, p.88.

<sup>4</sup> Der kewige Jud. Act V, p.398.



they paid compensation to their former feudal lords many had been bought out and so a rustic proletariat appeared. Some of these sturdy peasants were attracted to the factories in town, for industrialisation and new methods of communication created hundreds of new towns and brought the inhabitants of the countryside, even of remote villages like the one Anzengruber describes in Örtler, into touch with modern civilisation. Girls left home to work as domestic servants in towns as do Brigitte in Die Kameradin and Magdalena in Der Schandfleck. Universal conscription helped to spread 'Weltgift'<sup>\*</sup> among the peasants and hasten the depopulation of the countryside. The soldiers, too, succumb to the lure of the towns 'where wealth accumulates and men decay'. Anzengruber is not concerned with peasants' problems arising from industrialisation to the same extent as Rosegger and Auerbach who approve of emigration as a solution. He pays tribute to the call of lands overseas once in Leonhardt in Der ledige Hof who says:

'Da sitzt alles so eng aufeinander, dass sich keiner rühren kann und jeder bleiben muss, wie er ist, und darüber vergeht Jahr auf Jahr im Gleichen. Ich hab aber Lust, mich selber in die Hand zu kriegen und ein Stück Welt dazu, an das noch niemand gerührt hat, und zu schau'n, was ich damit fertig bring.'<sup>1</sup>

Unlike Rosegger he does not regret the opening up of remote country districts, but believes that the industrial age, once education has made men the masters of machines, will be a new era of prosperity and happiness in town and country.

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<sup>1</sup> Der ledige Hof, Act II, sc.5. Vol.II, p.174.

<sup>\*</sup> See the chapter on 'Anzengruber and the Peasants'.

Steam power came to compete with man in the fields as well as in the factory. The second tale in Märchen und Gefabeltes is about the great excitement and curiosity of the villagers over the appearance of a machine which is not a train. Rich Lois and poor Melcher can explain its use, for both have been to Vienna to see the great exhibition there. The former says that the Count, who is interested in economics, is using steam power to cut his corn. The day labourers among his hearers shake their heads in fear of the accursed machines. Melcher goes on to relate how 'man pflüge, säe, schneide, dresche, spinne, webe, wasche und mahle, und weiss was sonst noch, alles per Dampf.'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber puts in a moralistic passage suggesting that we ought to raise our hats to the achievements of human intelligence and be quietly proud of man's inventive genius. '„Das hat der Mensch erdacht!“ - das ist der Gruss Gottes an die strebende, ringende Menschheit!'<sup>2</sup> Just as primitive man sees human figures and qualities in elemental forces, the peasants imagine the machine to be a mechanical man and are busy imitating the way in which it works, when Steinklopferhanns, Anzengruber's peasant philosopher, arrives to admire the machine. A day labourer expresses his views on such machines which cut down work and wages. Lehnferdl proposes that they go to the Count's workers and join forces with them to remove 'die höllischen Maschinen' from their shed and leave them in such a condition that they

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<sup>1</sup> Die Märchen des Steinklopferhanns II. Vol.XIV, p.56.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.57.

cannot be repaired. Someone mentions the police. Löhnferdl replies that the workers will all have departed before they arrive.

'Mir wolln keine Maschinen, hitzt is's Zeit, dass man ein Weiser gibt, eh's zu spat wird und zviel schon in der Gegend sein, als dass man sie auf ein Streich abtun könnt. Nit wir Tagelöhner allein, a Bauersleut vom alten Schlag mögen die Maschinwirtschaft net. Arbeit so ein Grosser billiger, so druckt er alle mitn Preis.'<sup>1</sup>

Here Steinklopferhanns interrupts with a joke that the machines cannot make people. The agitator is annoyed. Hanns points out the usefulness of machines, especially of trains, and comforts them with the remark that machines possess limited powers. They cannot, for example, be used successfully on steep hills and rough ground. He proceeds to tell Die Gschicht von der Maschin. (Märchen III, Vol.XIV).

Last Walpurgis night he had an adventure. That day workers had been dismissed by a factory owner who had had machines installed. The unemployed left the inn where they had sought comfort and marched to the factory accompanied by loiterers, hawkers and all kinds of riff-raff. The good workers who had been kept to operate the machines attempted to hold them back but in vain. Hanns stood watching the havoc of destruction they were producing until he was tempted to join them. Suddenly there was a rumour that a whole battalion of riflemen was on the way and almost immediately they appeared. Hanns escaped in the confusion and sought refuge in the wood. In this dark and lonely wood he encounters a monster, which turns out to be the machine he had

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<sup>1</sup> Märchen des Steinklopferhanns II. Vol.XIV, p.60.

destroyed. The machine talks to him, bidding him be ashamed that he has ruined other people's property, and showed no respect for the hard work and prolonged study which are incorporated in it. It exclaims at the workers' stupidity. To prove how foolish their behaviour is, the machine tells Hanns to climb on to its back and flies off with him. Hanns feels as if he is on the highest hill in the world.

'Und wie ich so herunterguck auf dōwēlt unter meiner, sagt die Maschin: So ist's jetzt! Ich schau, da kommen s'daher in ein langen Zug, Arbeitsleut aller Art, alle verkrüppelt, bresthaft, vorzeitig alt und ausgemergelt durch'n strengen Erwerb, durch die ungesunde Hantierung, durch Trübsal um ihre alten Täg - und wie ich so in der Rund schau, seh ich die andern, die noch geschaffen haben, sich herunterrackern wie die Viecher mit der schweren Arbeit, sich's Blut vergiften mit Staub und so Farb- und andere Patzereien und wieder völlig zusammen-schrumpfen auf ein Fleck, von dem s' die Sorg ums Brot nit weglasst.<sup>1</sup>

And in contrast he is shown a vision of the future. The world is transformed. Machines are doing and making every conceivable thing which it is possible for them to do to spare men,

'und an den Maschinen sind sie gstanden, die neuchen Leut, unverkrüppelt, unverkrümmt, schön gross, stark, und hat ihnen die Gesundheit und die Gscheitheit aus dō Augen gleucht, ist jeder wie ein König an der Maschin gstanden, die er gemeistert hat bis aufs letzte Radl.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Anzengruber points out in his Märchen the need to educate the worker, so that he may take a reasonable view of machines which at first seemed to be his enemies. Problems caused by industrialisation may be partially solved by education, research and invention and by recognition of the 'fourth class' or proletariat whose 'Standesehre

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<sup>1</sup> Märchen und Gefabeltes. Vol.XIV. pp.67-68.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.68-69.

ist die Ehre der Arbeit'<sup>1</sup> by the other classes of society. Anzengruber looks to the State to intervene and save the hard pressed artisans by protective measures - these did not succeed and this problem is still unsolved today. Another social question of topical interest connected with industrialisation is the position of the Jews. The answer to the Jewish question is not political oppression but brotherly love and economic union of Jew and Christian as in the story Ein Unheimlicher. Anzengruber is far from regretting the Industrial Revolution, but he fears another revolution because man's grasping nature and narrow outlook have not been equal to adjusting conditions caused by the upheaval. He declares that Capitalism is a curse since it means rule by money and is degrading to men. He would like to hear Der Kapitalisten Notschrei:

'Da bricht zusammen zu Staube  
Der Menschheit letztes Ideal,  
Ans Geld der heilige Glaube.'<sup>2</sup>

Charity is no lasting cure.\* To avoid the injustice of 'Protz' and beggar in modern society, capital must be controlled and its conscience awakened. Shaw maintains that man under Capitalism can be made moral only by Act of Parliament.<sup>3</sup> Anzengruber, too, sees that men are not fit to solve these social problems unaided,

'und so wird das ganze Geschlecht durch die Kloake des Sozialismus und Kommunismus hindurch müssen.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft by W.H. Riehl. 8.Aufl. Stuttgart 1885, p.379.

<sup>2</sup> Gedichte. Vol.I, p.169.

<sup>3</sup> The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism by G.B.Shaw, London 1949, p.191.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 679. Vol.VIII, p.198.

\* Aphorism 668. Vol.VIII, p.195.

He himself is opposed to revolution, believing in evolution as the ideal method of progress.\* Dr. Fritz Weber writes,

'Es ist Anzengruber nicht zweifelhaft, dass der Staat eingreifen müsse, wie es Deutschland später durch die Sozialgesetzgebung auch versucht hat.... Er sieht in einem sozialen Staat die einzige Rettung vor der Anarchie.'<sup>1</sup>

In Aphorism 681 Anzengruber appeals to the State to close down old match making factories, and printing works, where lead lettering is used, since improved methods have been invented and further human sacrifice is unnecessary. It is only in his fragments and aphorisms that he is able to set forth his opinions undisguised. The censor finds his works most often too outspoken and ruthlessly mutilates them.

'Der Staat hat zu erhalten, zu erziehen, eine Weiterentwicklung ist nur auf diesem Wege möglich.'<sup>2</sup>

If the worker is not allowed human rights and industrial protection, if he is not educated and permitted to earn a living wage so that he may maintain a decent standard of living, if he is not recognised and respected generally then Anzengruber warns, 'Der Schweisz wird verschmäht, also Blut!'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anzengrubers Naturalismus by Dr. Fritz Weber. Berlin 1929, Section II, (bb).

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 681. Vol.VIII, p.199.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 775. Vol.VIII, p.232.

\* See Aphorism 769. Vol.VIII, pp.228-229.



CHAPTER SEVEN.

ANZENGRUBER'S ATTITUDE TO DRINK.

Drink may be a social grace or disgrace. Anzengruber did not write to persuade his countrymen entirely to give up their wine and beer and pleasant evenings in public houses. He enjoyed his 'feucht-fröhliche' evenings in the Anzengrube, the Nische and elsewhere. He counselled moderation not abstinence, but at the same time deplored excessive drinking. Like Dickens he described the evils of alcoholism as they affect the individual, the family and society in general.

'Drunkenness - that fierce rage for the slow, sure poison that oversteps every other consideration; that casts aside wife, children, friends, happiness and station and hurries its victims madly on to degradation and death.'<sup>1</sup>

The nineteenth century witnessed an increase in drunkenness, because of the unwonted money wages which industrialisation brought in its train. These wages were recompense for boring, tiring labour in wretched working conditions. Many of the early factories, indeed, supplied liquor allowances. Young apprentices and factory-workers, lured from the country districts, who had no home in the great, unfriendly city, sought warmth and companionship in Vienna's taverns. Typical of many is the tavern in Schwere Zeiten with its mixture of social classes, its pools of beer, its fetid, smoke-laden atmosphere and the practice of 'standing'<sup>x</sup> drinks which leads to chain-drinking. On a pay day especially such places are crowded. Anzengruber gives us a detailed description of the scene in a tavern:

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<sup>1</sup> Sketches by Boz by Charles Dickens, p.546: The Drunkard's Death.

<sup>x</sup> A practice whereby every member of a company pays for a round of drinks.

'Der "Höher Peter" ist ein lang aufgeschossener Humpen ohne Henkel, dort auf der Stellage neben dem Schanktisch bemerken wir noch zwei Gläser, aber mit breitem Boden und Henkeln, das eine hält ein Mass und heisst "der kleine Volkswille", das andere, ein und eine halbe Mass hältig, heisst, dem analog, der "grosse Volkswille".

'Der "Höher Peter" ebenfalls ein Mass hältig wird gefüllt herbeigebracht.

'Der Bestgeber fordert den Nächstsitzenden auf, zu trinken. Der saugt und saugt gar lange, selig wie ein Kindlein an der Mutter Brust, worüber die ganze Tischgenossenschaft in lachende Verwünschungen ausbricht.

'Der setzt den Humpen ab, holt tief Atem und sagt: "Ich hab glaübt, ich tu eng ein Gfallen, wenn ich dös aussauf, so werds schneller fertig, seids ja lauter verheirate Leut, ös ghörts z'Haus!"

'Soll warten, die Alte", spricht einer, der gerade an der Reihe zu trinken ist, aus dem Glas und durch das Bier.

'Diese ins Bier getane Äusserung alteriert aber nicht im geringsten die Trinklust des Nächsten.

'Na", sagt ein Dritter, "s is aber a wahr, wir ghörn schon lang ham, mein Alte und 's Kind haben gwiss auf mich gwart, bis ich 's Geld z'Haus bring, den'm muss ehnder schon der Magen krachen, hitzt kriegn s'a nix mehr. He, Wirt, is no a Knackwurst da?"

'Na, keine mehr."

'No, so is's a got. Habn mir nix, so brauchn mer nix!"

'Nehmen S'doch a Bröt und paar 'Quargeln' mit."

'Is a wahr, gebn S'her."1

The drinking habits of the working class differ from those of the middle and upper classes. The workman cannot spend time having a mid-morning snack in restaurants during the week with an occasional glass of beer, and he therefore makes up for this on Saturday evenings and all day on Sundays

'und den ganzen Montag (den er blau macht) und vielleicht auch noch Dienstag vormittags, welche Zeit über er mit grosser Opferwilligkeit ... nur trinkt.'2

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1 Schwere Zeiten. Vol.XV, pp.359-360.

2 Ibid., pp.358-359.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century there was an increase in alcoholism among Austrian workers, especially in the cities. This was due to the influx of a very mixed collection of proletarians from country districts, particularly from Bohemia and Hungary. They received money wages to which they were not accustomed and lost moral stability, once away from the security of their villages. Sometimes they succeeded in adapting themselves to their new surroundings and conditions of life and became respectable citizens, but more often the sordidness of overcrowded workmen's lodgings or the widespread practice of hiring a bed, solely as a place in which to sleep - shared perhaps with one or two others - forced the factory worker, after a long day's labour, into the nearest tavern where he might eat or more frequently drink, finding warmth and company in the great, sprawling, innospitable city.

Scenes as sordid as those depicted in Hogarth's Gin Street and Beer Lane are drawn by Anzengruber to illustrate that 'drunkenness and excessive expenditure on drink constituted one of the major evils of city life, one of the chief causes of crime and the ruin of families.'<sup>1</sup> He describes fathers of families, young girls of ill repute, 'Wiener Fruchtel' and a lonely young workman in taverns and restaurants at night in Ein Wiedersehen, and shows in Das vierte Gebot how family life is corrupted by drink. In the story Ein Wiedersehen Anzengruber tells how Most-Bartl, an honest, unemployed cabinet-maker, tries to

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<sup>1</sup> English Social History by G.M. Trevelyan. London 1947, p.570.

sell his home-made Easter lambs to dissipated fathers who remain drinking and playing at their accustomed tables till after midnight. On his rounds he meets an old sweetheart in the street. It is she who recognises him and pours out the story of her life. Her father had forced her to marry the man who had seduced her as a young girl. She would have done better, however, not to marry him because his vice and heavy drinking have contaminated her and ruined the life of their daughter, Kathi, who has never brought in enough money for him. He has died nine months earlier. When Most-Bartl shows pity, she jeeringly declares that the tears she is weeping are tears of gin. Most-Bartl reflects that poverty is nothing in comparison with loss of self-esteem.

The weakening effect of alcohol is insidious and ultimately devastating. It undermines the lives of the Schalanterers in Das vierte Gebot. In Act I, scene 13 we learn that Frau Schalanter has allowed her daughter, Pepi, to have an affair with young Stolzen-thaler, because he is the son of the owner of the house and the Schalanterers are nine months overdue with their rent. Her father is to blame, the mother claims, because he takes all the money out of the house and business to the tavern. The shop is left to the journeyman. Martin Schalanter suffers, too, from bad example and upbringing, for Schalanter likes to take his son with him on his drinking bouts. In Act I, scene 14 Schalanter enters with Martin who has just been accepted as a recruit. Schalanter wants to celebrate. As there have been no takings in the shop that morning, and as there is no money

in the house, he decides to take the deposit-money for a promised delivery, since this is a very special day. His wife exclaims,

'Ich bitt dich gar schön, du tragst dein Geld ins Wirtshaus, als hätten wir jeds Jahr dreihundertfünfundsechzg Buhn und alle Tag Assentirung.'

Schalanter retaliates,

'Mur'n Fuss därf man ins Haus setzen, so muss man sich schon ärgern und da traun sich die Leut mir was nachzsagen weil ich lieber auswärts bin! Ja, wann dös Hauswesen a Hauswesen wär, aber schau nur amal, wie's d'r da ausschaut, - kein Ordnung, und kein Geld vorhanden.... Aber wer is an allem schuld?! Dein Mütter, an allem!'<sup>1</sup>

What chance indeed have the two children, whose 'father is a drunkard and whose mother is a procuress', to become worthy citizens. The effect of drink upon home life may be disastrous, but on the other hand bad housekeeping and home-making can drive a man to drink.

Altlechner in Die Kreuzelschreiber, Hauderer in Doppelselbstmord and Steffel in Eisblumen escape from joyless homes to the village inn.

Altlechner takes to drink after he discovers that his wife is not in love with him but with his farm. Poor, cheated Hauderer in Doppelselbstmord has taken refuge from disillusionment and disappointment in philosophy and drink. He has been cheated of his love, the rich Agerl, by the wealthy Sentner and marries, half out of pity, Poldl, who had been betrothed to Sentner. After a while Poldl begins to grumble that she might have done better for herself and Hauderer takes to going to the inn when work is over to escape this. In Eisblumen it is the death of their only child which reduces Steffel's wife to a state of apathy. She cares neither for her own appearance nor

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<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act I, sc.14. Vol.V, p.177.



for her housekeeping. Then there is Chrysostomus Schnackerl in Solo-szene whose wife's unfaithfulness makes him stay away from home and drink. He is at the time of his marriage a town porter, but loses his job afterwards through a mistake made while he was drunk.

Drink may break up marriages. The Chief Constable of Bristol placed drink third in a list of the causes of domestic unhappiness and cruelty.<sup>1</sup> In the rural story Unter schwerer Anklage Anzengruber names two 'helpmates of the devil of domestic strife', the 'Fünfnummerteufel, das Ternomännlein' and the 'Sauf-' or 'Branntweinteufel'. Rosalia, Peter Kinninger's wife, has been tempted by the lottery-devil and squanders the money she has earned as a day labourer in the fields, on buying lottery tickets.

'An den Mann macht sich aber ein wüsterer Teufel, der flüstert ihm zu: „Sie entträgt dir das Geld um nichts und wieder nichts, das dumme Spiel ist ihre Leidenschaft, lass du dir deine Groschen nicht auch mit fortwegnehmen, und da sie zu Hause doch nicht sicher wären, so tu du dir dafür ein Gutes und sorg den Ärger zu vergessen, den dir dein Weib macht, komm in lustige Gesellschaft.“<sup>2</sup>

Peter is saved from death and drinking by his wife who proves him innocent of murdering his cousin. Anzengruber hints at the dulling effect which drink exercises upon the faculties, for Peter can do nothing to help himself. After Peter has been proved innocent as a result of his wife's efforts, he and Rosalia resolve to make something worth while of their lives and their marriage, and the devils are sent packing.

Similarly the marriage of Hanns Kohlhuber and Annet-Mirl in Tod und

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<sup>1</sup> Drink: An economic and social study by Hermann Levy. London 1951, p.69. A.8,550.

<sup>2</sup> Unter schwerer Anklage. Vol.XII, p.59.

Teufel is saved only in a fairy-tale way by two gentlemen whom Hanns takes for Death and the Devil. They cure him of drinking by threatening to carry off his wife unless he reforms.\* At last there is money enough to provide for a family and to buy new clothes. Often the guilt is shared, as for example in Fragment 587.

'Der Mann trinkt. Kerl hat Weib und Kind! Je nun, er konnt nicht Geld genug schaffen. Sie macht Schulden hinter seinem Rücken, die Leute kamen fordern, sie trugen, was er erspart hinweg - wozu sparen! Jetzt ist er so herunter.'<sup>1</sup>

The wives of Görg Friedner, Fröhlich and Stammer and Randinger's daughter in Hand und Herz, Sein Spielzeug und Alte Wiener and Die Herzfalte respectively, bear witness to the sad fate of drunkards' wives. Görg Friedner, a dance-floor king, wastrel, drunkard and thief had once been a promising youth, who had lost his faith in his family because his sister had been seduced and his family had accepted money as compensation for her honour. He wastes his young wife's dowry and ruins her life. A pitiful example of a wife driven to commit suicide because of her husband's drunkenness and brutality is the rather silly, empty, little blonde Hermine formerly the plaything of her first husband. She has remarried. Her second husband, Fröhlich, is a fortune-hunter who spends his time and her money drinking and gambling in taverns and cafés. He has a habit of coming home late so that the caretaker has to let him in, and habitually falls into a drunken stupor in his bedroom. Hermine, abandoned by him when he has spent all her

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 587. Vol.I, p.559.

\* Cf. Joyce's Dubliners.

money, totters down to the grave of her first husband and lies down in the snow to die. She had no family, however, but the incurable drinker Stammer and his wife have five children. In Alte Wiener Act I, scene 10 Anzengruber tells us of the plight of Frau Stammer and her children. Höfner, landlord in the Donaudörfl, appears carrying Kernhofer's grey suit which the latter has given to Stammer, an unemployed workman, so that he might have a decent suit to wear when he was looking for work. Höfner reports that the poor wife and children are terrified that Kernhofer might withdraw his help. Kernhofer, kindhearted and charitable, agrees to continue to alleviate their distress. Not all drunkards' families are as fortunate as this. But charity cannot relieve all the suffering caused by alcoholism. In Die Herzfalte Randinger, a hardhearted, selfish father, compels his daughter, despite her frantic pleading, to marry her seducer. The result is that his son-in-law through drink, extravagance and brutality wastes the small-holding which has been given to them and corrupts his wife. After the death of his only son in a tavern brawl, Randinger is left with his dissolute son-in-law as his heir.

If drink causes misery, it is equally true to say that misery causes drinking. Ein Wilder von Profession maintains that spirits are a necessary evil. He has learned and carried on his trade as a comb-maker and been respected in society. Now, forced to give up the hopeless struggle against factories and foreign competition, he has at last found a job as a savage in a side-show. From morning till evening he acts his disgusting trick of tearing the head off a pigeon. He finds relief only in a drop of alcohol. Others take to drink as a result of

disappointed love - for instance in Das vierte Gebot Johann, the Schalanter's former journeyman who is in love with Pepi, takes himself to task: 'Ich darf in kein Wirtshaus mehr gehen - nein - der Schmerz in einem trinkt mit und dann wird's zu viel.'<sup>1</sup> Josefa herself advises him to win back his self esteem and not drink any more. In Hand und Herz Görg Friedner suggests to Paul Weller that he drink and forget the confusion of his domestic affairs. Weller, however, is too strong a character to choose the oblivion afforded by alcohol. An illustration of the havoc wrought by loss of self respect is the fate of Käferl in Die Tochter des Wucherers, who has once been a highly respected citizen of Vienna. Ruined by having to pay debts incurred by his son who had been duped by a money-lender, Oehrlein, Käferl compels Oehrlein's accomplice, Locker, to order three bottles of Gumpoldskirchner for him in a restaurant. He commences to rate his persecutor - 'und seit ich Bettler bin und niemand ein Respekt vor mir hat, vernegligier ich mich ganz...'<sup>2</sup> In the next scene, Act II, scene 5, Bucheneder, a former friend of Käferl, comes into the restaurant with his son and invites Käferl to join them.

'Käferl. Lass mich gehn, Bucheneder, dir will ich nit unter die Augen kommen, ich pass nimmer zu euch - so ein versoffener, zudringlicher Bettler - das passt nit.'<sup>3</sup>

Bucheneder ejaculates,

'Herr Gott, wenn man bedenkt, was das Elend aus ein Menschen machen kann - net ein Jahr is's her - da war der Mann noch einer der anständigsten Bürger am Grund.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das vierte Gebot, Act III, sc.1. Vol.V, p.209.

<sup>2</sup> Die Tochter des Wucherers, Act II, sc.4. Vol.V, p.80.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Act II, sc.5. Vol.V, p.85.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Act II, sc.6. Vol.V, p.87.

Käferl as he drinks becomes increasingly sentimental. His head sinks down on to the table.

Eucheneder. Seferl, gib das Wasser herüber, vielleicht müssen wir ihn leben.

Käferl (hebt den Kopf). Lassen Sie's Wasser drüben - bist du mein Freund? Haha - komm mir mit kein Wasser.... was brauch ich ein ehrlichen Namen? Ein Bettler braucht gar nix, weil er nix hat - und ein lustiges Leben führe ich jetzt, nüchtern bin ich nie - mein Durst, der is's Höchste...<sup>1</sup>

His son has committed suicide, his wife pined and died. He has lost all his possessions, too, and drink is his only consolation. It will finally ruin him physically and mentally, as Oehrlein has ruined him financially.

Reinhard Niebuhr defines

'the first purpose of intoxication as the sinful ego-assertion which is rooted in anxiety and unduly compensates for the sense of inferiority and insecurity; while the second purpose of intoxication springs from the sense of guilt, or a state of perplexity in which a sense of guilt has been compounded with the previous sense of insecurity. The tension of this perplexity is too great to bear and results in an effort to escape consciousness completely.'<sup>2</sup>

Indeed it is often to escape from reality and responsibility that many men drown their sorrows in taverns, clouding the conscious mind.

Ibsen's play The Wild Duck contains three characters who habitually dodge the unpleasant reality of the present with the aid of the bottle. Old Ekdal, Relling and Molvik share the same means of escape with Anzengruber's Käferl, his Flori in Der Schandfleck and many others.

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<sup>1</sup> Die Tochter des Wucherers, Act II, sc.6. Vol.V, p.90.

<sup>2</sup> The Nature and Destiny of Man by Reinhold Niebuhr. Vol.I: Human Nature. London 1941, pp.249-50.

Drink has been used, too, to reduce young girls to a state of helplessness in which they may be robbed of their honour. A criminally frivolous plan to do this and thus punish a rather independent, self-opinionated girl is made in Die Trutzige<sup>1</sup> by the lads of the village and the innkeeper's daughter. The attempt is undertaken by Martin in Act scene 6 when he plies Liesel with wine, but she is moderate in her drinking. Not so Rosa in Brave Leut vom Grund. Fanni warns her against Kranzenberg who urges her to drink. She has to comply with his every wish, or else he will say, 'It's all over.'<sup>2</sup> Fragment 454 shows how drink can corrupt everything fine in family life:

'Figur. Ich war die Frucht der Brutalität eines Besoffenen. Für den Mann - will ihn nicht Vater nennen - existierte ich nicht, und der Frau war ich nur unangenehme Erinnerung, widerwärtig.'<sup>3</sup>

Polite society subscribes in a large measure to the widespread drinking habit. Wines, spirits, liquors, countless toasts are the order of every dinner-party and every election campaign. Such entertainments are described by Anzengruber in Der Erbonkel, Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell, Alte Wiener and Ausgewohnten Gleis. In Ausgewohnten Gleis and Ein Brief der tötet drink acts as a 'truth drug'. The clerk, Schmidt, and the actor, Engelstein, have their tongues loosened and commit the social faux pas of telling the truth, the former to his host and assembled guests at a dinner-party, given in his honour, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Die Trutzige, Act I, sc.6. Vol.IV,

<sup>2</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, Act I, scs. 8 & 9. Vol.VI.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 454. Vol.I, p.520.

latter to the village 'Honoratioren' in a village inn where he airs his views upon the bad taste of provincial audiences. Heinrich Wengert in Glacéhandschuch und Schurzfell excuses his display of feeling at a family dinner-party on the ground that he is drunk. Anton Willhofer in Ausm gewohnten Gleis is the typical ageing playboy indulging in hard drinking, late nights and high living. He is representative of many members of Viennese upper middle-class society. In Alte Wiener he has a counterpart on a smaller scale, the collar and cuff manufacturer, Schmalhofer, who is introduced as having a common Viennese failing - over-indulgence in eating and drinking.<sup>1</sup> Carnival is traditionally a time of riotous festivity. Anzengruber does not touch upon this period of merrymaking, although some of his contemporaries consider Carnival celebrations the cause of many social evils. On pages 51 and 52 of his Wiener Blut Schlögl comments on

'Aschermittwoch: denn der grosse, sinnberückende, börsenleerende, uns den Schlaf stehlende, das Oberste zu Unterst kehrende, tobende, springende, kichernde Maskentrubel ist vorüber.'

He discusses the moral hangover,

'Was folgt darauf? Nun nicht selten Gerichtsverhandlungen, Wechselproteste, Blausäure, Kindbettfieber, verfallene Pfänder, Ehescheidungsprozesse, Delogirungen, unfreiwillige Urlaube usw. usw....'<sup>2</sup>

Carnival brings the classes of society together and so, too, does drink. In Schwere Zeiten Anzengruber remarks,

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<sup>1</sup> Alte Wiener, Act I, sc.4. Vol.V.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener Blut by Friedrich Schlögl. Vienna 1874, 3.Auflage, pp.51-52.



'Das ist eine sehr hübsche soziale Einrichtung, ein wahrer Todesstoss für den Ständegunterschied, die Frau und die Kinder des Geschäftsmannes, des Hausherrn, des Spekulanten können auf das teure Familienoberhaupt ebenso fruchtlos warten wie die Frau und die Kinder des Arbeiters, die letzteren beiden leiden vielleicht auch etwas Hunger, aber sonst ist die Behandlung eine gleiche.'<sup>1</sup>

Anzengruber manages to score a hit or two at the monks.

'Das Brauen kostbarer Wässer und Tränke ist nicht ihr schlechtestes Wissen und Können, und wer das anders sagte, der lügt entweder in seinen eigenen Hals hinein, oder er hat eben noch nie eine Chartreuse oder einen Benediktiner mit der Zunge gegen den Gaumen gedrückt und den Schlund hinabgleiten lassen.'<sup>2</sup>

Again in Hand und Herz he introduces Sebald, a lay brother, who likes visiting the country folk, giving them advice and drinking their wine.

'Je mehr man den Krug und die Weiber vor die Lippen brächte, je durstiger würde man',<sup>3</sup> a beggar had once told him and he has found out for himself the truth of the saying.

In country districts the village inn has always been the centre of social activities, just as the favourite tavern is the rendezvous in towns. Drinking forms a large part of the proceedings at christenings, weddings and funerals and at the various Church festivals, especially on the feast days of patron saints and during the carefree days of Carnival. Schlögl gives a description 'Vom Kir'tag' in his Wiener Blut.<sup>4</sup> Anzengruber merely uses the festival as a background for some of his plays and stories. He deplores drunken brawls which

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<sup>1</sup> Schwere Zeiten. Vol.XV, p.359.

<sup>2</sup> Annerl, Hannerl und Sannerl. Vol.XIV, p.243.

<sup>3</sup> Hand und Herz, Act III, sc.1. Vol.III, p.144.

<sup>4</sup> Wiener Blut by Friedrich Schlögl. 3.Auflage, Wien 1874, p.67.

often result from days of celebration. Such ugly scenes in the inn sometimes claim human lives. Strong drink, kindling courage and fanning the flames of anger, leads to the knifing of Randinger's son in Die Herzfalte and to the murder by Sennfelder Jakob of his successful rival, Friedberger Anton, in Die Kameradin. Crime is very often connected with drink. In Das vierte Gebot Martin Schalanter commits murder under the influence of passionate anger, inflamed by drink. Crime is mentioned in a brief survey of temperance to be found on page 568 of volume 14 of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences edited by Edwin R.A. Seligman as among 'the concomitants of drink - poverty, slums, crime and child delinquency.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1885 in Austria (Proper) with a population of 22,773,000, 3,200,000 hectolitres of wine were being consumed, while the United Kingdom with a population of 36,007,000 was consuming 13,768,000 gallons.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later in 1895 Austria was consuming 14.5 Imperial Gallons of beer per head of the population compared with 29.6 in the United Kingdom, and 1.54 Proof Gallons of spirits, while the average in the United Kingdom was 1.00.<sup>3</sup> These figures serve to show how much the English and the Austrians were indulging in drink. Anzengruber's attitude is not one which advocates abstinence, but one which urges moderation. He deplores that prices are rising and that, at the same time, eating and drinking establishments of all kinds are flourishing.

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<sup>1</sup> The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences edited by Edwin R.A. Seligman. Vol.XIV, p.568.

<sup>2</sup> Accounts and Papers for 1897. Vol.28, Paper 408, Trade etc..

<sup>3</sup> Accounts and Papers for 1910, pub.1911. Vol.94, Alcoholic Beverages, p.533.

Hard times are not really bad for those who can agitate for wages to rise to meet higher prices in the taverns. They are hard for those whose salary is fixed, for the petty officials, for the poor needle-workers, for the families whose heads waste their surplus wages in the tavern and for those whose ability to work is impaired. Here again the emphasis is laid on the physical and financial aspects of drink. Victor Tissot corroborates Anzengruber's assertion that there are far too many restaurants and drinking establishments, forming an ugly fungus on the lives of many Viennese.

'Ce qui frappe surtout l'étranger à Vienne, c'est la multitude des cafés; on se croirait dans une ville d'Orient; je n'en ai compté moi-même le nombre, mais si j'en crois la statistique, ils dépassent le chiffre de quatre cents.'

Schlögl in his Wiener Blut gives the sequel.

'Wie die Geschichte endet? Wie gesagt nicht immer so lustig, wie sie begonnen. Hin und wieder verschwindet Einer aus dem „Freundeskreise“ auf unerklärliche Art, ein Anderer auf sehr erklärliche, denn auch das Wirtshaus weiss von „Ausbleibenden“ zu erzählen, wie die Börse. Manchmal begraben sie auch einen „guten Freund“, der rätselhafter Weise an der Wassersucht gestorben.'

In Act III, scene 6 of Doppelselbstmord Anzengruber attacks alcoholism in the cradle. Hauderer is apologising to his daughter's future father-in-law and his own good friend for his quarrelsome behaviour. He assures Sentner that he is not to blame.

'Du net! Du weisst's recht gut - du net - i - i mit mein Höllrausch von gestern. Dös verfluchte Saufen - der Teufel soll's holen! - Der Agerl muss mer einschärfen, wann s'Kinder

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<sup>1</sup> Vienne et la vie viennoise by Victor Tissot. Paris, 17.éd., pp.236-7.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener Blut by Friedrich Schlögl. 3.Auflage, Wien 1874, p.288.

kriegt, sie soll s' nit trinken lassen; das heisst a Willi a Willi schop, aber nur nix Geistigs soll s' über die Kinder lassen...'<sup>1</sup>

With regard to <sup>intoxicating</sup> spirits one cannot be on guard too early. Children left to watch infants in Manchester and other industrial areas of England used to pour spirits into feeding-bottles to quieten their charges; and with not dissimilar effects on the children's stomachs Austrian wet-nurses in from the country to collect town babies used to become intoxicated with the money paid them for their services. They well deserved the trick played on them by a carrier in Die Kameradin who changed the clothes of a little girl and boy, so that their foster-mothers had to walk many miles next day to retrieve their charges. Anzengruber is aghast at the crime, degradation and suffering caused by drink, especially at its effect on innocent families, and above all on children growing up in sordid surroundings. He examines problems of drink in connexion with poverty and seduction, family life and housing, crime and environment, but he does not touch upon disease nor does he make much of heredity, a theme so popular with the Naturalists, especially in Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenaufgang, Ibsen's Ghosts and Zola's La Bête humaine. Jacques, the engine-driver, 'en venait à penser qu'il payait pour les autres, les pères, les grands-pères qui avaient bu, les générations d'ivrognes dont il était le sang gâté.'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber takes the more modern view that alcoholism need not be inherited.

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<sup>1</sup> Doppelselbstmord, Act III, sc.6. Vol.IV, p.259.

<sup>2</sup> La Bête humaine by Émile Zola. 95.mille. Paris, 1900, p.53.

It can be avoided or cured by upbringing and individual willpower. He suggests that those who nurse children should refrain from indulging in strong liquor and that parents and guardians should not show children a bad example at home.

Home influence is of great importance. Diplomatic control of a husband is demonstrated by Amalie, wife of the cabinetmaker Lorenz Mittler in Brave Leut vom Grund. Good sense and tact are her weapons. In Act II, scene 4 Mittler who is with his wife and some friends in an inn is challenged to stay and show that he is not henpecked.

Mittler. Weiss du, ich habbe noch Lust dahzubleiben.

Amalie. Das kannst ja tun!

Mittler. Ahber es dürfte spat werden und dah gehörest du nach Haus.

Amalie. So? (Für sich) Gott, wie sich das hübsch macht, wenn er sich auf die Hinterläufeln stellt und 'n Gstrengen spielt; no, meinetwegen, 'n Kopf kost's ihm nit, wenn er ihm auch morgen weh tut!<sup>1</sup>

It is very late when Mittler returns. He seeks to provoke his wife by telling her that he has been playing cards, flirting with the waitresses and drinking. She preserves her calm demeanour. Eventually he has to give in.

Mittler. Wir müssen uns versöhnen.

Amalie. Wir sind doch nit bös aufeinander?

Mittler. (zieht sie an sich). Schau, mir ist die Versöhnung a Bedürfnis -

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<sup>1</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, Act II, sc.4. Vol.VI, pp.239-240.

Amalie. (drängt ihn von sich). Aber mir durchaus nit. Weisst, ich biß gut, recht gut, aber nicht zu gut. Mein liebes Lorenzerl, alles hat sein Grenzerl.....<sup>1</sup>

Frau Ducker in the same play is a foil for Amalie. She is too heavy-handed and tyrannical. Her husband does as he pleases behind her back. Anzengruber can still laugh at some situations caused by the 'Sauf- oder Branntweinteufel'. Beside his picture of Käferl, a study in moral and physical degradation, he paints comic canvases. Both are intended to act as deterrents.

What makes alcohol so tragic an influence in society is the waste of human life and substance which it causes. Anzengruber's solutions are the building up of a happy home life, restraint and self discipline, improvements in housing and facilities for recreation, education to moderation in all things. He would agree with Hermann Levy that 'the Education of Young People probably provides the most profitable field for the use of the growing medical, psychological and sociological knowledge of the effects of drink.'<sup>2</sup> Education for temperance began in England in the 1830s but did not reach the Continent till after 1900. An attempt must also be made to remove, or at least relieve, conditions from which people seek escape by drinking, and to devise more profitable ways of passing leisure hours. Anzengruber urges the importance of a happy, healthy, domestic background yielding work and amusement, for all members of the family. The Austrian love

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<sup>1</sup> Brave Leut vom Grund, Section II, sc.8. Vol.VI, p.253.

<sup>2</sup> Drink: An economic and social study by Hermann Levy. London 1951, p.136.

of festivities, naturally <sup>temperament</sup>frivolous<sup>1</sup>, and gregariousness complicates the problem. The help of wives, mothers and sweethearts is enlisted. Their views are doubtless expressed by Franzl in Act I, scene 9 of Der Fleck auf der Ehr.

'D' Monleut trinken überhaupt mehr, als ihnen gesund ist....  
Von d' Manner woass koaner, wieviel in eahm eingeht und  
wann s'gleich g'leicht wern, wie engere Trinkglaseln, wo  
draufsteht: „Drei Zehntel leer.“

Wirtin. Du Narrisch, drei Zehntel Liter hoasst's!

Franzl. Aber bei dö, was draus trinken, hoasst's: drei Zehntel  
leer und sieben Zehntel voll.<sup>1</sup>

And in truth man's stupidity is one of the main causes of excessive drinking. The empty three tenths must be filled, whether by temperance societies or the warning voices of authors or wives, before the seven tenths will be emptied and the vice of drunkenness eliminated.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Fleck auf der Ehr, Act I, sc.9. Vol.II, p.216.



CHAPTER EIGHT.

ANZENGRUBER'S WELTANSCHAUUNG.

Anzengruber lived and wrote in a time of many transitions. In religious matters there was a general demand for more freedom and independence of judgment, and materialism, pantheism, deism and atheism became powerful rivals of orthodox religion. In literature the trend was towards more realistic writing which, concerning itself with current problems, was developing slowly into naturalism. Politically there was a change from absolute to more constitutional monarchy and an increasing tendency to socialism: economically the discovery and development of mechanical processes caused social phenomena such as the disappearance of the artisan class, the emerging of the proletariat and the ascendancy of the wealthy industrialists. All these changes are reflected in Anzengruber's work, so that little seems fixed or permanent in his pictures of society and there is constant tension between progressive and conservative ideas.

As a writer Anzengruber's supposed atheism aroused great opposition. His plays were 'sehr „kirchlich" und vielleicht in Konsequenz davon sehr dumm gestrichen'<sup>1</sup> according to his views. Generally, however, he was regarded as 'ein gefährlicher Autor'\* and labelled a 'sitten- und religionsloser Höllenbrand'. His beliefs were certainly not orthodox, but he was far from being irreligious. Indeed when we read Fragment 360, entitled Der Mensch und das Welträtsel where Anzengruber reveals his ideal of religious experience - deeply awed by nature, freed from

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<sup>1</sup> Briefe I, p.239. An Mauthner, Wien, den 27.Dezember 1877.

\* (Title of a series of articles in 'Germania'.)

every vestige of egoism, at peace he would <sup>give</sup> lay his whole being back into the universal with but one wish and prayer: 'Dein Wille geschehe!'<sup>1</sup> - we might also call him 'fromm'<sup>2</sup> as did Hermann Bahr. Pious in the same sense as Spinoza he seems to be again in Eisgärtel where he repudiates the 'Protektor-Gott' of Jung Stilling - 'einen so umgänglichen alten Herrn', 'einen alten Erbonkel von Gott' - and demands,

'wer einen Gott glaubt, der soll einen Richter, Heiligen, Ehrwürdigen Gott glauben, mild wie der Frühling, warm wie die Sonne, streng<sup>3</sup> wie der Winter ... das Eine in Allem und das All in Einem!'<sup>3</sup>

Anzengruber attacked orthodox religion and religious abuses, not only because of his personal beliefs but also because of the mission he thinks he has to educate and promote the progress of mankind. He did indeed declare in Eisgärtel:

'Es soll da nichts gesagt werden gegen den Glauben an Gott, noch an ein zukünftiges **Leben**. Damit mag es jeder halten wie er will... Aber hier soll nur die Rede sein, wie an Gott geglaubt wird. Denn da scheint mir manches nicht, wie es sein soll,'<sup>4</sup>

But he does like many contemporaries protest whenever he imagines religious beliefs and practices to be harmful to men. In Zu fromm and in Die Märchen des Steinklopferhanns he teaches that men ought to give of their best in this world, because he saw that when people looked on this life as a 'Durchgangsstation' it often encouraged them to be lazy. Hypocrisy is attacked in Der Meineidbauer, intolerance in Die drei Prinzen and religious tyranny in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment 360. Vol.I, p.493.

<sup>2</sup> Feuilleton: Wiener Tagblatt, 8.Dez.1899.

<sup>3</sup> Eisgärtel No.2. Vol.XV/II, p.28.

<sup>4</sup> Eisgärtel. Vol.XV/II, nr.13, p.32.

latter the alternative of church reform does not receive fair consideration. The reason for this was perhaps that he was not prepared to grant the Church a place in his reconstructed society. Not that Anzengruber directly recommended a revolt against the Church - he simply suggested that organised religion, as it was then, was a stumbling-block to man's progress. 'Die Religion der Zukunft kann und wird keine andere sein, als die Humanität',<sup>1</sup> he wrote once to a humanistic group in Berlin and he was certainly influenced by Feuerbach.

It was pointed out that a world without orthodox religion was open to the danger of crass materialism. Undaunted Anzengruber replied that materialism was preferable to preoccupation with the life hereafter. His confidence in the human heart is evident in many aphorisms, although frustration could at times cloud his certainty. In Aphorisms 345, 289 and 21 and 24 he expressed his high hopes and beliefs; in 310 and 311 he descended to reality. 'Trost' is the title of Aphorism 345:

'Materialismus, Glaubenslosigkeit - welche Zeit! Alle Ideale der Menschheit erstarren!

Befürchtet das nicht!

Das Schöne kann nicht untergehen: das Erhabene nicht, das Lächeln nicht!. Die Wehmut nicht und nicht die Sehnsucht!...<sup>2</sup>

Aphorism 289, taking the assertion Die Götter sterben as its point of departure, retorts:

'Aber der Gott im Menschen, der sich auflehnt gegen das Hässliche, Verderbliche, Gemeine - der stirbt nicht.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Anzengruber by Anton Bettelheim, Berlin 1898, p.247.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 345. Vol.VIII, p.98.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 289. Vol.VIII, p.84.

Anzengruber was persuaded that a 'schlummerndes Etwas'<sup>1</sup> in man would conquer materialism and all selfishness and lead to 'das Aufgehen in das Selbstlose des Geisteswesens die höchste Stufe, die wir als Menschen erringen.'<sup>2</sup> This highest stage was, however, still far off, for Anzengruber lamented, 'Krieg ... Blut ... und Elend und Jammer! Bestien lernt euch endlich vertragen!'<sup>3</sup> In Aphorism 311 he added, 'Den Menschen ist die Menschheit noch ein zu weiter Begriff.'<sup>4</sup>

With regard to this last observation it is interesting to note that not many years after his death even priests could not understand why Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld had at one time been decried by the clergy. Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn described a performance of the play in the Kaiserjubiläumstheater after the writer's death:

'Das Haus war gefüllt und zu meiner Freude sah ich auch katholische Geistliche im Zuschauerraum, die das vielgeschmähte Tendenzstück auch einmal sehen wollten. Sie konnten sich nicht genug wundern über den edlen, unantastbaren Inhalt....'<sup>5</sup>

Had Anzengruber been a little less dogmatic and his public a little more tolerant, he might not have been so persecuted by censor and critic as he was during his lifetime. At any rate he was hailed later as

'ein Erzieher und Tröster, ein Warner und Sorgenbrecher seiner Gemeinde in der von Carlyle so genannten „Kirche der Literatur“.'<sup>6</sup>

Fundamental to Anzengruber's rules for leading a good life is the idea that morals and conscience depend not on religion but on instinct, common sense and education. He believed that everyone ought to be

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 21. Vol.VIII, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 24. Vol.VIII, pp.8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 310. Vol.VIII, p.90.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 311. Vol.VIII, p.90.

<sup>5</sup> Erinnerung eines Theaterdirektors by Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn. Leipzig, 1924, p.100.

<sup>6</sup> Acta diurna - Gesammelte Aufsätze Neue Folge by Anton Bettelheim. Wien, Pest, Leipzig 1899, p.143.

taught to develop a sense of beauty in living and to use his understanding,

'denn nicht Furcht und Hoffnung, das Gefühl des Edlen und Schönen bestimmt sodann die Handlungen des Menschen.'<sup>1</sup>

Man's true guide, he claimed, is

'das schöne, unbefleckte Bild einer Welt, wie sie sein soll, das sie in sich tragen.'<sup>2</sup>

On the whole he attached too much importance to commonsense and reasoning, not allowing for the manifest defects and variations in human intellectual powers. His system would be feasible only if education could develop the average person's intellect to the necessary level. Surely his statement: 'Die Klugheit rät gut zu sein und zu bleiben, selbst wo unser Gewissen keinen Widerspruch einlegen würde',<sup>3</sup> could not be applied to mankind in general. Ideas of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and the confidence of the nineteenth century in human progress and prowess, based on industrial and scientific progress combined to convince Anzengruber that man's future would be determined by his reasoning faculties. 'Vernunft' would help in the struggle against animal instincts hostile to moral welfare.

'Alle Vernunft plädiert für Sitte, für Achtung der Rechte anderer.'<sup>4</sup>

Neither repression nor excess is advisable - virtue is moderation.

Belief in reason and progress is again shown in his assertion

'an der sittlichen Entwicklungsfähigkeit des Menschen ist ebensowenig zu zweifeln, wie an der körperlichen.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 365, Das Sittliche. Vol.VIII, p.107.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 384. Vol.VIII, p.113.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 371. Vol.VIII, p.109.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 388. Vol.VIII, p.114.

<sup>5</sup> Aphorism 394. Vol.VIII, p.118.

Anzengruber protected the individual, however, as he would have nothing to do with a fixed system of morals - the decisions of the majority, known as convention. Mrs. Grundy mattered not to him. In Aphorism 366 he declared,

'Gut und böse sind keine Begriffe für das Allgesamte... Gut und böse besteht nicht in der Allgesamtheit.'<sup>1</sup>

As an illustration of his convictions Anzengruber wrote Der Sternsteinhof about a daemonic 'Dorfhelene' who, although she was at fault according to the conventional system of morals, ultimately did much more for society than the conventionally good. It has been suggested that she is a feminine counterpart of Nietzsche's superman.

General educative and guiding influences such as conscience and suffering are discussed. He considered conscience to be separate from religion and essentially individual.\* Conscience is

'der Zwiespalt, in den sich jemand mit dem idealen Bilde, das er sich von seiner Lebensführung macht, durch irgend eine Handlung versetzt fühlt',<sup>2</sup>

or with a different emphasis, 'das Bewusstwerden der Verantwortlichkeit'.<sup>3</sup> Anzengruber saw the moral function of suffering, too, and recognised it as one of the strongest bonds linking men together by common <sup>hardship</sup> suffering or sympathy. Sternly he generalises: 'Der Mensch lernt nur durch das Leiden.'<sup>4</sup>

In considering other aspects of Anzengruber's life and work as a nineteenth century writer many other questions arise - was he a

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 366. Vol.VII, pp.107-108.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 369, Gewissen. Vol.VIII, p.108.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 375. Vol.VIII, p.111.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 118. Vol.VIII, p.31.

\* See chapter on Crime and Punishment, p.48.



sociological writer or not: a pure artist or a 'Tendenzdichter'; an optimist or a pessimist; a revolutionary or a reformer of Church, state and literature? He wrote in a letter to Bolin about the peasantry,

'Es erwachen in jenen Kreisen politische, eigentlich mehr soziale Fragen, und die Poesie hat an deren Lösung keinen Anteil.'<sup>1</sup>

Where his Styrian contemporary, Rosegger, offered constructive criticism and suggested solutions to peasant problems, Anzengruber stopped short, confining himself to the description of rustic difficulties and characters.\* With his plays and short stories about town life it is different. Ein Faustschlag for example turns upon the hostile relations existing between capital and labour, towards the improvement of which Anzengruber felt bound to contribute. Instead therefore of declaring that he did not regard the solving of social problems as the concern of writers, it would be more accurate to say that he had no social programme, but that he, and Peter Rosegger, 'retten, raten und helfen wollten, weil in ihnen die Liebe mächtiger war als aller Hass.'<sup>2</sup>

Anzengruber's 'social feeling' was appreciated later by the Naturalists and in his treatment of social problems he did show decided naturalistic traits. Although it is doubtful whether he actually inspired any of the Naturalists, it is certain that they came to appreciate his work and praised his Das vierte Gebot which was performed by the Freie Bühne in

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<sup>1</sup> An Polin, Penzing, den 26. März 1886. Bfe.II, nr.447, p.221. .

<sup>2</sup> Deutsch-österreichische Literaturgeschichte hrsg. von Nadel und Zeidler, p.1223.

\* See chapter on peasant problems.

Berlin. He may be called a harbinger of the Naturalists,<sup>1</sup> as Karl Ermisch suggested - at any rate his position makes Kurt Vansca's statement plausible. 'Zwischen Hebbel and Hauptmann klappt eine Lücke, die zu schliessen nur dem Wiener gelang.'<sup>2</sup>

In the introductions to his collection of village stories, Dorfgänge I and II, Anzengruber set forth his literary ideas and methods - some of which are also to be found in his aphorisms. Where he demanded that writers should serve truth he touched on a rule of naturalistic writing, but he made certain reservations which prove that he did not entirely approve of the naked truth or of the ugly reproductions of stark reality advocated by naturalism. He upheld the claims of beauty in art in Aphorism 787, Zola,<sup>3</sup> and defended idealism. 'Nicht die Ideale sollen aus dem Leben hinausgeworfen, sondern hineingetragen werden',<sup>4</sup> he thought, and insisted that literature ought to continue to help in this process. From what he had read of the American literature of the time the American authors appeared 'sich hauptsächlich in grotesken Übertreibungen (zu) gefallen, manchmal sogar bis zum Unappetitlichen.'<sup>5</sup> Once in conversation he is reported to have said,

'Shakespeare war im Gegensatz zu den "Modernen" das Muster, wie weit man in der Schilderung des Crassen und Hässlichen gehen dürfe.'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber und der Naturalismus by Karl Ermisch. Dissertation: Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1927, p.81.

<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber by Kurt Vansca, Wien 1940, chapter VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 787, Zola. Vol.VIII, p.237.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 792. Vol.VIII, p.239.

<sup>5</sup> Eine Plauderei, als Vorrede zum zweiten Bändchen der Dorfgänge. Vol. XV/I, p.296.

<sup>6</sup> Aus Gesprächen mit Ludwig Anzengruber, article in Die deutsche Zeitung 19260, 25.July 1900/4.

Not that Anzengruber wished all the seamy side of life to be tucked neatly out of sight.

'Er stösst das Elend, das um Mitleid bittet, nicht von der Ecke, er jagt den Trunkenen, der alle belästigt, nicht von der Strasse, alles, was er bei solchen unangenehmen Begegnungen für euch tut, ist, sie abkürzen, nachdem ihr aber doch den Eindruck einmal weg habt.'<sup>1</sup>

The Naturalists on the other hand have no such consideration for their readers and, although Hauptmann for example and Anzengruber both wrote of life in the lower classes the former did not describe their simple pleasures in loving detail in Die Weber or Hanneles Himmelfahrt as the realist Anzengruber did in Heimgfunden or Brave Leut vom Grund.

He aimed in his writings at being socially useful and with this purpose in view he placed the proletariat in Glacéhandschuh und Schurzfell and in Ein Faustschlag 'in a place of honour in the temple of art.'<sup>2</sup> He wanted to educate the people, thus employing his art (as far as he was permitted to by the strict Austrian censorship) to correct or at least draw attention to social injustices, and above all to illustrate the demoralising effect of poverty and the plight of the poor. The desire to teach was as marked in Anzengruber as in Keller or Gotthelf, but Anzengruber made more of milieu and hereditary influences than they did, although not so much as Zola in Le ventre de Paris, or Ibsen in Ghosts, or Hauptmann in Vor Sonnenaufgang. This attitude to his work meant that he, too, wrote on topical matters - on religious problems aggravated by the Concordat, on political corruption, on drink and

<sup>1</sup> Eine Plauderei, als Vorrede zum zweiten Bändchen der Dorfgänge. Vol.XV/I, p.291.

<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber und der Naturalismus by Karl Ermisch. Dissertation, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1927, p.7.

divorce and so on. With regard to questions of marriage and divorce it is interesting to compare Anzengruber's attitude with that of the Naturalists, represented by Ibsen. An examination of Anzengruber's Elfriede and Ibsen's A Doll's House,\* the former written in 1873, the latter in 1879, reveals Anzengruber's pioneering spirit and his rejection of extreme measures. Where Ibsen went boldly on, Anzengruber advised reform within the existing institutions when that was possible, unwilling to agree that women should be emancipated, but prepared to support attempts to raise their status within marriage. The difference between Elfriede and Nora is summed up by Franz Servaes. Elfriede says 'Gib mich frei', whereas Nora announces 'Ich mache mich frei!'<sup>1</sup> Anzengruber actually conceded that the individual has a duty to society once a family has been founded as Ibsen who placed the individual higher did not.

When it is a question of character drawing there are points of similarity between Anzengruber and the Naturalists, but on the whole, although Anzengruber presented the habitual drunkard, the decadent young man and the prostitute and displayed interest in criminal psychology, his characters were for the most part free from the pathological and could escape by their own efforts from the octopus tentacles of milieu and heredity - except in Das vierte Gebot. The main characters often so absorbed Anzengruber that the plot became of secondary importance. Of the writer's own favourites - Steinklopferhanns, Burgerlies

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<sup>1</sup> Praeludien by Franz Servaes, Berlin 1899, p.43.

\* See chapter on Problems of Love and Marriage, p.105.

and Wurzelepp - Franz Servaes expressed the opinion:

'Diese Ausnahmsmenschen tragen am meisten dazu bei, dem Anzengruberschen Drama den Alltagsstrich zu nehmen.'<sup>1</sup>

Those three are all social outsiders - Steinklopferhanns because of his illegitimate birth and poverty; Burgerlies because she is disgusted with a society in which there is little justice and too much hypocrisy; Wurzelepp on account of his broken romance with a Protestant girl whom a tyrannical Church will not allow him to wed. Among those three independent people Steinklopferhanns is the exponent of Anzengruber's own philosophy of the common fate of mankind, shares his detached outlook and his active pity and love, his views on nature and humanitarian religion and his heroic optimism. Anzengruber in portraying such characters wished to reveal that it was the fault of society, corrupt and hypocritical, narrow-minded and unjust, that they had either chosen or been compelled to live beyond the pale.

Anzengruber's treatment of character, his humour, his hankering after ideals and beauty, his belief in man's freedom and ability to recognise what is reasonable and right and, above all, his recognition of an abiding moral law all distinguish him from the Naturalists, although he might have moved further along the road to naturalism had he lived longer. From his fragments and aphorisms it is possible to judge that he might have produced naturalistic works with Sumpf<sup>2</sup> and Arme Leute<sup>3</sup> if they had been expanded into full length studies. The

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<sup>1</sup> Praeludien by Franz Servaes, Berlin 1899, p.40.

<sup>2</sup> Sumpf. Vol.VIII, p.451 and p.534.

<sup>3</sup> Arme Leute, Aphorism 326. Vol.VIII, pp.479-480.

way, however, was barred by time and a Procrustes of a censor, since, although Anzengruber was bold and original, his field of activity was limited by the supervision of the paternal Austrian government. As a dramatist he had always to tread warily in order that his plays might be performed.

Anzengruber fell foul of the Austrian censor years before fame came to him overnight in 1871. He had written to order a Carnival farce, Der Reformtürk, concerning which he declared to Gürtler,

'Ich löste diese Schulaufgabe mit Geschick, die Zensur jedoch fand, dass ich ein sehr schlimmes Bubi sei, und strich mir mit Blei- und Rotstift von 40 Seiten, die das Buch zählt, rund 23!!!!'<sup>1</sup>

Later his Das vierte Gebot was submitted by a narrow-minded censor to changes such as the suppression of the very title, an alteration which proved disastrously weakening. Anzengruber complained to Mauthner about the censor's ravages:

'Er duldet ferner nicht, das irgend jemand verzweifelt... Er streicht auch jede Anspielung auf das vierte Gebot ... und die haarscharf ausgesprochene Tendenz des Stückes.

'Genug, so misshandelt man Werke Besseren Genres oder sagen wir - damit ich bescheidener spreche - besseren Willens in Österreich.'<sup>2</sup>

In his work as an editor too (of the 'Heimat' and of 'Figaro') he encountered opposition from the censor which he discussed in a copy of Figaro.

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<sup>1</sup> An Gürtler, Wien, den 31. Januar, 1867. Bfe.I, p.109.

<sup>2</sup> An Mauthner, Wien, den 27. Dez. 1877. Bfe.I, p.329.

Redakteur. Meister, hier habe ich Ihnen die Liste all der Personen, Institutionen u.s.w. aufgesetzt, an die Ihr Stift nicht rühren darf.

Zeichner. Danke schön! Erlaube mir dagegen, hier diejenige derjenigen zu überreichen, von welchen Sie die Feder fernhalten sollen.

Redakteur. Danke gleichfalls! Na, sehen Sie, das Geschäft vereinfacht sich immer mehr.<sup>1</sup>

From these few illustrations it is possible to confirm the truth of Sittenberger's belief that, if Anzengruber appeared hesitant or timorous, the conditions with which he had to contend were to blame - as Anzengruber himself explained, 'weil ein total veralteter Zensur-schimmel existiert.'<sup>2</sup> In the end, after the censor had persecuted him and the public had forced him to neglect the stage and turn to telling fairy-tales ('Das ist echt deutsch und kann wohl nicht „aufreizend“ noch „staatsgefährlich“ sein -<sup>3</sup>), he was for a few months before his death favoured by both. It was, however, too late to make good the damage done to his spirits by prolonged frustration which had led him to protest:

'Aber fragen Sie sich, wie mir und jedem echten Dramatiker zu Mut sein muss, wenn ihm die ergreifendsten und einschneidendsten Probleme kurzweg von der Zensur konfisziert werden...'<sup>4</sup>

Similarly in Aphorism 747, Zensur, he says:

'Ein Dichter hört in die Zukunft, er hört das Dröhnen der Schritte noch ausser der Zeit. Er will warnen, da legt ihm die Polizei die Finger (auf den Mund) und sagt: Warnen Sie nicht, das beunruhigt nur!'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figaro Nr.47, 24.November 1888. Vol.XV/II, p.321.

<sup>2</sup> An Bolin, Wien, den 12.April 1878. Bfe.II, p.9.

<sup>3</sup> Jaggernaut, Märchen und Gefabeltes. Vol.XIV, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> An Bolin, Penzing, den 25.August 1887. Bfe.II, p.234.

<sup>5</sup> Aphorism 747. Vol.VIII, p.222.



Another hindrance to Anzengruber's work was unfair criticism and reports on his aims that appeared to be contradictory. He disliked negative praise. The following illustration was once used to express his point of view:

'Ich hab' mal 'nen Jungen sein jüngeres Geschwisterchen sauber waschen sehen; er spukte ihm erst ins Gesicht, dann wischte er darüber.'<sup>1</sup>

As a playwright he did depend to a great extent on the honesty and goodwill of the critics. Otherwise he derived ironical amusement from conflicting reviews - for instance he joined in Bolin's pretended confusion at Paul Lindau's demonstration of the essential Catholicism of the author of the Dorfgänge, while a series of articles in Germania branded him as being immoral and irreligious. Perhaps he was criticised most of all on the grounds, 'dass er der Erwähnung geschlechtlicher Beziehungen gar nicht aus dem Wege gehe.'<sup>2</sup> That such relations were of great importance to society as a whole and especially to the realistic writer describing the country folk was Anzengruber's defence.

Rosegger summed up the situation thus:

'Er ward vergöttert und verketzert wie kaum ein anderer seiner Zeit, die frohgläubigen Liberalen priesen ihn zeitweilig den Heiland des Volkes - er lächelte in seinen Bart; die Orthodoxen verfluchten ihn als Antichristen - er lächelte in seinen Bart. Er ward gelobt und schwieg - er ward verhöhnt und schwieg.'<sup>3</sup>

The censor, the lack of recognition and understanding by their contemporaries, the popularity of the operetta, the shortage of money

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<sup>1</sup> An Bolin, Wien, den 3. Juli 1882. Bfe. II, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Eine Plauderei als Vorrede zum zweiten Bändchen der Dorfgänge. Vol. XV/I, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Gute Kameraden by P.K. Rosegger, Leipzig 1916, pp. 138-139.

after the 'Krach', the vagaries of famous actors and actresses, the constant struggle to make a living - in fact nearly all the problems which writers had to face in nineteenth century Austria are manifest in Anzengruber's own life. It was a struggle for survival and recognition, dogged by 'der Feldschandarm Sorge'. Enthusiastic and fresh to begin with, he announced that strife was his element and his pen his sword. He believed then in his mission to educate the people and reform the popular drama.

'Ich kann sagen,' he wrote to Bettelheim, 'ich ergriff nur die Feder, um durch „dauerhaftere“ Stücke mit den vorhandenen guten Werken meiner Vorgänger ein Repertoire der Volksbühne zu ermöglichen, dieser und den Schauspielern zum Heile, die von einer geistlosen Robot<sup>hätten</sup> erlöst, sich künstlerischen Aufgaben zuwenden können. Können!'<sup>1</sup>

Although greeted as the reformer of the popular drama, he rapidly discovered that this was an empty title, as he communicated to Bolin in 1880. To Josephine Gallmeyer he confessed that he had become too tired and discouraged to write any more plays - the enthusiastic, energetic, popular dramatist of the early seventies had disappeared.

'Damals galt mir das Theater, die Bühne, nicht nur für mich als der Weg aus Drang und Not, sondern überhaupt als solcher für das zeitgenössische Publikum; mäßig drängte sich mir die Ueberzeugung auf, es sei eben die Schaustellung von Stücken ein Geschäft wie jedes andere...'<sup>2</sup>

By 1888, although it seemed that a new era was dawning with the opening of the new 'Deutsches Volkstheater' for which he had been asked to write the opening play, there was further evidence of his disillusionment in a letter to Bettelheim whom he informs:

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<sup>1</sup> An Bettelheim, Wien, den 9. Mai 1883. Bfe.II, p.142.

<sup>2</sup> An Josephine Gallmeyer, Wien, den 18. Dezember 1883. Bfe.II, p.165.  
*cf. p. 183.*

'Es wird mir kaum flink von der Feder und dem Herzen gehen, denn alle Illusionen, mit denen ich mich einst als „Reformator“ getragen habe, sind „pfutsch.“'<sup>1</sup>

He went on to say that the theatre was simply a place for entertainment and that whoever wished to do more than entertain was of no use to the audience and was not allowed to make a living.

In his letters Anzengruber admitted that he envied O.F. Berg and the composer, Strauss, whose work was light and popular, so that they were able to live as they wished and write what they wanted to on the proceeds. Anzengruber, however, refused to lower his standard of work and produce shallow pieces such as those from the pen of L'Arronge, which demand neither effort nor thought. 'Und dieses Einschläfern ist ein Amt', das seinen Mann ernährt,' he reflected, embittered by the popularity and prosperity of such 'Eintagsfliegen'.<sup>2</sup> The operetta was so much in demand as a form of entertainment that Anzengruber could find no one to produce his plays and few who possessed enough talent to master the dialect, and so for years he was neglected. He who had hoped to educate the people and raise their tastes now inveighed against them: 'Der Geschmack des Publikums! - Pah das Zeug hatte nie welchen. In der Mode war ich ... ich bin abgelegt.'<sup>3</sup> He celebrated his twelfth year of 'fame' by realising that

'das Publikum - dessen Geschmack ich im Bunde mit Gleichgearteten zu verbessern für möglich hält - naive Idee das! - gar nicht danach fragt, wenn es nur sein Novitätenfutter erhält, wer ihm das vorschüttet und was es da mitunter zu verkosten bekommt.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An Bettelheim, Penzing, den 3. August 1888. Bfe.II, p.244.

<sup>2</sup> An Bolin, Wien, den 31. Januar 1881. Bfe.II, p.88.

<sup>3</sup> An Ada Christen, Wien, den 9. August 1881. Bfe.II, p.103.

<sup>4</sup> An Mauthner, Wien, den 23. Dezember 1881. Bfe.II, p.117.

Faced with such extracts and Jaggernaut, Teufelsträume, Das vierte Gebot and other writings of a pessimistic tone, one is tempted to agree with the biographers and reviewers of Anzengruber who claim that he was a pessimist. Certainly whenever he thought about his own bitter experiences of men's egoism, weakness and hypocrisy he had some reason for despair, for his youthful optimism had been sorely tried. 'Jeder, den der Schmerz packt, wird Pessimist werden'<sup>1</sup>, Anzengruber maintained in his aphorisms dealing with optimism and pessimism, and he likened attacks of pessimism to illnesses from which one may recover or not.\* When Strobl for example says, 'Man muss sich darüber klar sein, dass Anzengrubers Wesen im Grunde auf tragischen Pessimismus gestellt ist'<sup>2</sup> or when Bettelheim talked of Anzengruber's 'Entrüstungspessimismus', they could not have considered Anzengruber's work as a whole. It is obvious that his views on life, and religion especially, were frequently affected by his own bitter experiences. In more objective moods he taught his readers that pessimism was to be avoided, because it induced lethargy.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Otto Rommel in his biography of Anzengruber summarises the main points to be discussed in deciding whether the latter was optimistic or pessimistic: 'Seine Lebenserfahrungen drängten zum Pessimismus, er aber verbot sich heroisch den Pessimismus ... und kämpfte gegen die Weltverächter.'<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most conclusive evidence which can be produced

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 125. Vol.VIII, p.33.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Anzengruber by K.H. Strobl, München 1920, p.83.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 127. Vol.VIII, p.34.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Anzengrubers Leben und Werke by Dr. Otto Rommel. Vol.XV/III, p.453.

\* Cf. chapter on Anzengruber and Religion, p. 31.

to prove that he was fundamentally an optimist is that he believed in progress and, along with other writers of his time, he clung to the hope of a golden future for man. Although occasionally he gave way to gloomy predictions and nihilistic ideas, he laboured fairly consistently for a positive 'Weltanschauung'. To him it was not ultimately important whether a writer was classified as an optimist or a pessimist. He himself took a higher view of the question:

'Es ist auf dem weiten Gebiete der Kunst gar niemals die Frage darnach gewesen, ob einer die Welt durch rosenfarbene Gläser oder durch Schneebrillen betrachtet, dass er richtig sieht war allzeit ethische Bedingung!' <sup>1</sup>

The answer to the question 'Was Anzengruber a pure artist' is not hard to find. He was not. His desire to teach and reform has already been mentioned\* and may be further illustrated by a quotation from Aphorism 817, where he stated that popular drama required 'einen gewissen belehrenden Zug',<sup>2</sup> for if people went to the theatre merely to laugh their fill the theatre sank to the level of an 'Unterhaltungsbude' and the playwright became a 'Hanswurst'. His moral and didactic purpose is easily recognisable in nearly all his work. In some it is too obvious and detracts from their artistic worth. Examples of this are the overdrawn and bombast in parts of Der Meineidbauer and the long, dry speeches between Graf Finsterberg and Lux in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld. Dr. Rommel borrowed a phrase from Keller when he referred to the 'monotone Beredsamkeit' of Anzengruber's writings which strove

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<sup>1</sup> Eine Plauderei - als Vorrede zum zweiten Bändchen der Dorfgänge. Vol.XV/I, p.295.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 817. Vol.VIII, p.247.

\* See pp.245-246.

for one end, the victory over all decaying institutions and conventions, over all stupidity and injustice - 'die neue Aera, die herüberwinkt aus weiter Ferne, meinem Aug' entdeckbar - die Zeit der Vernunft!'<sup>1</sup>

This dream - a mirage pursued throughout generations - Anzengruber painted according to the conditions of his time as a new era of people who preach and practise the ideals of humanitarianism: free individuals inspired by love and the dictates of reason to accept social responsibilities and build up a society in which there are happy well cared for workers (Die Gschicht der Maschin), healthy, well educated, reasonable city dwellers, clean living and uncorrupted by the taint of crime or 'money grubbing' (Brave Leut vom Grund, Heimgfunden, Alte Wiener) and enlightened well informed peasants, living in touch with town and international affairs (Der Meineidbauer and Örtler). The new community was to be free from drinking and immorality, released from bonds of religious, political, social and economic tyranny, corruption and hardship. He thought his dreams could be realised if the moral sense and intelligence of the individual were developed, so that everyone would recognise responsibilities towards others, first in the family and then in the State.

W.H. Riehl in Die Familie insisted: 'Die Familie antasten, heisst aller menschlichen Gesittung den Boden wegziehen... Die Familie ist nur das Vorgebilde der Volkspersönlichkeit, d.h. der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.'<sup>2</sup> Anzengruber would undoubtedly have agreed with Riehl,

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<sup>1</sup> An Lipka, Pettavium, den 29.Dezember 1864. Bfe.I, p.95.

<sup>2</sup> Die Familie by W.H. Riehl, 11.Auflage, Stuttgart 1897, p.121.

although he was not blind to the dangers of family upbringing, for egoism and narrowness of outlook may be fostered which may produce anti-social effects. On the whole, however, he accepted the family as 'eine Institution des berechtigten Egoismus.'<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Sigismund Friedmann in dealing with Das vierte Gebot mentioned 'das Verderben des Einzelnen und der soziale Schaden, der daraus wächst' and continued, 'das alles kann schon in den Lehren gewisser Neuerer unserer Zeit den Wunsch nach Zerstörung der Familie und die Forderung der freien Liebe zur Folge haben.'<sup>2</sup> Nothing could have been further from Anzengruber's aim in writing this play. He wished to show, at a time when the family was in danger of being split up by the new demands for the emancipation of women and free love and by adverse economic conditions, that it is of the greatest importance to society and that much harm could result if it does not fulfil its functions properly. When parents do not set a good example to their children; when true love does not exist among its members; when, in short, the family is not the training ground for responsible members of society, then the family is corrupt and society will be corrupt. In his other works, too, the effect of good and bad family backgrounds was shown. Sometimes a bad family is transformed into a good one as in Diebs-Annerl and Elfriede where the children inspire their parents to live better and therefore more useful lives socially. The Schön family in Das vierte Gebot is the model of all good families, while the Schanlanthers in the same play are the type of all bad families. The fate of

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 576. Vol.VIII, p.169.

<sup>2</sup> Das deutsche Drama des 19ten. Jahrhunderts in seinen Hauptvertretern by Sigismund Friedmann, Leipzig 1903, 2.Ed., p.186.



the orphan<sup>s</sup> is revealed by Jakob Wierer in Falsches Glück who feels 'left out' of society, not having known its counterpart in miniature - the family.

Morals, too, depend to a great extent on the family influence. In Der Christabend einer Leichtfertigen we see how prostitution may result from bad upbringing and in Brave Leut vom Grund how such a fate may be avoided by a clever, conscientious mother. A judgment in keeping with Anzengruber's attitude is to be found in Studien zur Dramaturgie der Gegenwart: 'Ihm ist die Familie etwas Strenges und Ernstes, und ihren Segen erblickt er darin, dass sie den einzelnen stetig dazu mahnt, vor jedem leisesten Makel sich zu hüten.'<sup>1</sup>

The demands for the education of the individual, for the recognition of moral responsibility and for self-sacrifice which Anzengruber made in connexion with the family, he wished to be realised in the state too. In his approach to both institutions he insisted that extensive reforms were necessary - not revolution. The way in which the society of his day was organised, allowed great injustices to flourish which prevented many men from developing as he thought they were entitled to develop. Society, according to him, was therefore responsible for much tragic waste of human life.

It is not easy to decide whether he held society or the individual in the first instance responsible for the continuing existence of social problems. He attacked the individuals who had most to do with

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<sup>1</sup> Studien zur Dramaturgie der Gegenwart by H. Sittenberger, 1.Reihe, München 1898, p.375.

the organisation of society as it then was - the monarchs, government officials, the rich (for the gulf between rich and poor, he considered, should be the first to be bridged before the gaps between the classes can be closed) and the Conservatives who hindered social reforms. In his Mahnruf an die Reaktionären he declared that those who 'die unhaltbaren Zustände aufrechtzuhalten versuchten, sei es aus Dummheit oder verbohrtem Eigensinn',<sup>1</sup> must be ready to accept the blame for the inevitable, tragic consequences of their policy. On the whole, however, he considered the majority of people to be excused on the grounds of ignorance and political impotence and protested, as loudly as he dared, that they were shamelessly exploited. To the uneducated, poverty-stricken, 'déclassé', social sufferers and outsiders, the victims of a society which prevented them from voting or, through lack of interest, from improving their lot or, through fear, from contributing to social reforms, he extended his sympathy and help by discussing their problems in his works.

The first step towards a decent, general standard of living for all must, he decided, be universal education, so that every individual would realise his true position in society and his rights. In several aphorisms he spoke directly to the people, warning them against those who treated them as dogs or children.<sup>2</sup> Laziness, narrow-mindedness and ignorance on the part of the individual would have to be obliterated

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 349, Mahnruf an die Reaktionären. Vol.VIII, pp.99-100.

<sup>2</sup> Especially Aphorisms 626 and 629. Vol.VIII, p.183 and p.184.

before society could be successfully reorganised:

'Nur der ist euer Freund, der sagt: ich liebe euch, darum möchte ich euch schon klüger und besser haben, als ihr seid. Darum rate ich euch, arbeitet und lernet! Unermüdet!'<sup>1</sup>

Aphorisms 650, 655, 656 and 643 remind the people that government and monarchy are not divinely appointed, mysterious authorities, but that they are paid for by the people. 'Des Kaisers Rock ist des Volkes Rock geworden', he told them in Aphorism 643.

The next step on the way to reform imagined by Anzengruber was a fairer distribution of goods. There ought to be 'neben dem Überflusse kein Darben und Verderben.'<sup>2</sup> Always in his outlook on politics he was conscious of the part played by money. He protested against the unfair treatment of the poor by the rich generally. In Aphorisms 650 to 653 and 674 to 676 he mentioned the dangerously powerful influence exerted by money in national and international affairs. War, he thought, was often caused by money-seeking and by the desire of a nation's government to make the country great. He believed that, in the end, if the love of money were overcome, and national egoism, men, when they had been sufficiently educated to appreciate and embrace humanitarianism, could overcome the miseries and inconveniences of war and conscription. Even after his rather nationalistically coloured consideration of the disintegrating Austrian empire in Aphorisms 730 and 732 he could say: 'Suchen wir ein Weltreich zu gründen ... denn der Mensch bedeutet mehr als die Nation.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 626. Vol.VIII, p.183.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 684. Vol.VIII, p.200.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorisms 703, p.206; 664, p.194; 712, p.209.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorisms 730 and 732. Vol.VIII, p.216.

Anzengruber sympathises with people who are patriotic and with those who are proud of their nationality, but he warns people not to be exaggeratedly proud. In Aphorism 715 he distinguishes between those who are proud of their national virtues and characteristics and those who are fanatical about them. He fully realises how important nationality is:

'Die Geburt bestimmt die Nationalität, es ist nicht wahr, dass es gleichgültig ist, auf welchem Fleck Erde der Mensch geboren wird, dieser Fleck bestimmt seine Entwicklung in allen Anschauungen über Pflichten und Rechte, Sitte und Art, gibt ihm auch das Idiom, in dem er nicht nur spricht, sondern auch denkt.'<sup>1</sup>

He is proud of being German. In Aphorism 732 he writes:

'In Wien geboren, das hiess ehemals auf deutschem Boden geboren, also: ein Deutscher sein. Das heisst es jetzt nicht mehr, und das enthält alles. Das ist die Erklärung für vieles Unerquickliche in Wien. Kein Kern mehr, ein Konglomerat.'<sup>2</sup>

He declares in Aphorism 730, 'Ein slawisches, undeutsches Reich - geht nicht',<sup>3</sup> and goes on to point out to other members of the Monarchy that they would be giving up ~~an~~entire culture, if they were to campaign against the German members of the Empire. Anzengruber saw clearly that the new Germany under Bismarck was not disposed to be friendly towards Austria.

'Bismarcks Rat, den Schwerpunkt nach Osten zu verlegen, sich also als zweites Slawenreich aufzuspielen und dadurch Russlands Eifersucht wachzurufen, war für Österreich der denkbar ehrlichste eines - Feindes.

Ihm zu folgen, das - Unklügste!<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 709. Vol.VIII, pp.208-9.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 732. Vol.VIII, pp.216-7.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 730. Vol.VIII, p.216.

<sup>4</sup> Aphorism 728. Vol.VIII, p.215.

For four reasons Anzengruber deplores any exaggerated nationalistic manifestation. People who hold intense but misplaced nationalistic views cause Frenchmen to hate Germans, Slavs to hate German Austrians. When people regard one another with such hostility wars ensue. Anzengruber writes in Aphorism 716, 'die Nationalität bedroht die Menschen nunmehr mit Kriegen.'<sup>1</sup> People who are preoccupied with the interests of their own nation are not sufficiently eager to found a 'Weltreich' of which Anzengruber dreams (because he believes 'der Mensch bedeutet mehr als die Nation'.<sup>2</sup>). Measured with the yardstick which Anzengruber applies to so many institutions and social problems - how far do they contribute to the progress of man? - peoples who are exaggeratedly nationalistic fare badly: 'Die Nationalität mehr als notwendig zu betonen, ist schon Rückschritt auf dem Entwicklungspfad der Menschheit'.<sup>3</sup>

On the level of international politics he saw that modern man had to steer a course between the Scylla of nationalistic and racial warfare and the Charybdis of anarchical, socialistic revolution. In order to avoid a revolution in Austria he had devised an enlightened system of reform in the government and in education, for, although he disapproved of blind conservatism, he did not support revolution. His ideal state was a republic, incorporating the essentials of a welfare state. For his ideas on this subject we must again turn to the aphorisms and fragments, since the censor would not have allowed him to publish any of his theories during his lifetime. Such suggestions for

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 716. Vol.VIII, p.211.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 718. Vol.VIII, p.212.

<sup>3</sup> Aphorism 713. Vol.VIII, p.209.

instance as those contained in Aphorisms 643 and 666 would have been enough to incur a sentence of imprisonment. He maintains in the former that a president was better from the people's point of view, since he could be dismissed if his work were bad, and in the latter he defines the virtue of a republic:

'Republikanische Tugend - Republik jene Staatsform, bei welcher man sich nicht im Namen eines Fürsten vom Fiskus plündern, von Gericht einsperren, von Soldaten töten lässt.'<sup>1</sup>

Of course he realised that the change-over to a republic might involve a revolution, but he resolutely opposed revolution as a means to gain his end. The clearest statement of his attitude is to be found in Aphorism 769:

'Jede Revolution ist verderblich, sie schafft Reaktion, sie setzt Gewalt gegen Gewalt, sie hemmt die friedliche Entwicklung..'  
He wishes 'nicht ein Akt der Anarchie, ein Entstehen aus dem Chaos, sondern ein Geburtsweh(n) nach Zeugung, Empfängnis und Austragung - das Kind selbständig herausgeboren aus dem Alten, ein frei sich Entwickelndes, Wachsendes, Gedeihendes.'<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of his life, however, he did express in his aphorisms the fear that his dream could be realised only by revolution, because men's egoism and narrow-mindedness prevented even the most glaring injustices from being set right. His ideal remedies would develop gradually - so slowly that he concluded a crisis would arise before his method of organic reform and correction could cope with it. The revolution scares of the eighties probably also influenced Anzengruber's outlook. Events subsequent to his death show that social reforms were fairly quietly effected by men like Dr. Karl Lueger and Dr.

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<sup>1</sup> Aphorism 666. Vol.VIII, pp.194-5.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism 769. Vol.VIII, pp.228-229.

Viktor Adler and that generally the social conscience has been aroused, but Anzengruber would no doubt consider that mankind still has far to go before it establishes a society such as he sought, in which man and his needs are the first considerations, not money nor power - in which all social problems are solved by human reason, work and love.

#### Conclusion.

Looking back over Anzengruber's work from a present day point of view we may see him fall into place - not indeed in the front rank of nineteenth century writers - but fairly near to it.

If his work is to be judged on its literary merits many faults in construction must be noted - for example the clumsy exposition in Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld and the strained unreality of Elfriede. His character drawing has been charged with exaggeration as in Der Meineidbauer and with incongruity as in Die Polizze. He is further accused of writing a dialect of his own, 'Anzengruberisch', which is a synthesis of Bavarian and Austrian elements and not authentic. This is understandable from a practical point of view, since he wished to be as widely appreciated as possible. Despite his efforts, however, his dialect writings proved to be hardly comprehensible to many German audiences, although there is proof that he became known through translation in Norway and America.



His position in nineteenth century literature (allows<sup>may</sup> itself to) be examined under four headings: a) as reformer of the Viennese provincial theatre in particular and the theatre in general; b) as a writer of village stories; c) as ~~a~~ representative of poetic realism; d) as a pioneer of sociological writing and naturalism in Austria.

In accordance with the demands made and the limits set by the title, 'Social Problems in the Writings of Ludwig Anzengruber', I have concentrated on following Anzengruber's insistent, pointing finger which indicates social evils and shortcomings - the need for reform and for new ideals. Although he is time-bound in certain aspects of his work - in his criticism of the Concordat for example - his writings are still of interest to the twentieth century and should continue to interest future centuries, as long as city and families are corrupt and country folk backward, as long indeed as the social problems he discusses persist.

This century has provided his plays with a new sphere of action by filming Der Meineidbauer, Das vierte Gebot and the comedy Doppelselbstmord (Hochzeit im Heu). In the provincial theatre he had once hoped to reform, his plays are still being performed, although most Austrians even yet know him mainly as a 'Bauerndichter' and a storyteller rather than a dramatist. It is as a social writer that he merits most appreciation, as a social reformer that he strove to make his fellow men see, hear and understand and as a social writer that he can still be said to serve mankind today.

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